THE BYZANTINE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS (CANTACUZENUS)

ca. 1100–1460

A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study

by

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Preface

The name of Kantakouzenos, latinized as Cantacuzenus and modernized as Cantacuzino or Cantacuzene, has a long history reaching back at least to the twelfth century. The object of this work is to trace and, where possible, to relate to one or other branch of the family which bore that name as many of its members as the author has been able to find in what may be called the Byzantine period of its history, between the appearance of the first recorded Kantakouzenos about 1100 and the years immediately following the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. The post-Byzantine and modern descendants of the family, more especially the Rumanian branch which began to come into prominence in the sixteenth century, are therefore excluded; nor is any attempt made to determine the quantity of Byzantine imperial blood which may or may not flow in the veins of the twentieth-century representatives of the house of Cantacuzino. Patriotic Rumanian historians have indeed labored to show that the quantity is large and that of all the Byzantine imperial families that of Kantakouzenos is the only one which can truthfully be said to have survived to this day; but the line of succession after the middle of the fifteenth century is, to say the least, uncertain.[1]

The known father figure of the post-Byzantine Cantacuzini is the notorious Michael Cantacuzino Saitanoglou, the sixteenth-century millionaire of Constantinople. Having gained the confidence of the Sultan Selim II, Michael contrived to amass a prodigious fortune. The name of Saitanoglou, or Son of the Devil, was wished upon him by the Greeks for his corrupt and extortionate practices as a tax collector and manipulator of the office of Patriarch. But his ostentatious display of wealth and his enormous influence finally earned him the envy and displeasure of the Turks whose cause he had served so well, and he was strangled at the Sultan's command in

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[1] Cf. I. C. Filitti, *Notice sur les Cantacuzène du XI^e au XVII^e siècles* (Bucharest, 1936), p. 1.

May 1578.[2] His eldest son Andronic, born in 1553, married into the family of Rallis (Raoul); and it is from Andronic's five sons, who settled in the principalities across the Danube, that the modern branches of the family in Rumania, Russia, and elsewhere are descended. The youngest son of Andronic, Constantine Cantacuzino, became Postelnic or marshal of the court of Wallachia. He was murdered in 1663. Of his sons one, Şerban Cantacuzino, was voivode of Wallachia from 1679 to 1688. Another, called after his father Constantine Cantacuzino, was sent to study at Padua and Venice and gained a deserved reputation as a scholar. As Stolnic of the court he became the chief confidant and counselor of Prince Constantine Brancoveanu of Wallachia (1688–1714). But the relationship of this line of the family through Michael Saitanoglou to the Byzantine house is tenuous in the extreme.[3]

The illustrious origins of the family no less than their unbroken line of descent have been the subject of pious fictions and determined romanticism. As early as the sixteenth century it was being confidently stated that the first known member of the family which was to produce the celebrated Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos was one of the twelve Peers of Charlemagne.[4]

In the eighteenth century the romance was elaborated. It was proclaimed that the Cantacuzini under the name of "Candivaniti" had laid the foundations of an empire in Scandinavia at the beginning of the Christian era; or that one "Iachint Cantacuzino" had caused the whole tribe of the Cimbri to submit to Julius Caesar. Another historian discovered a member of the family serving and dying as a general in the Roman legions of the Emperor Trajan. These unlikely tales were collected by a latter-day scion of the Rumanian house, Prince Michael Cantacuzino, who moved with his family from Wallachia to settle in Russia in 1774. He was a grandson of the Postelnic Constantine Cantacuzino who died in 1663 and thus a direct descendant of Michael Saitanoglou. In Russia he found favor with Catherine the Great as a soldier and was suitably honored; he decided to investigate the origins of his family whose fortunes seemed to have revived in so striking a manner in his own day. His investigations began with the massive genealogical work on Byzantine families compiled by Charles Du Fresne DuCange and published in Paris in 1680. Had Prince Michael rested content with this sober and scholarly account he would have done well. But it was evidently not enough that a family which had produced emperors and empresses of Byzantium in the fourteenth century should derive its origins from some obscure and nameless soldier of the eleventh century designated by DuCange simply as "Cantacuzenus ille."

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[2] For Michael, see, e.g., N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Gotha, 1910), p. 211 f. Michael's greatest benefaction to posterity was the collection of a large library, on which cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1897), p. 506.

[3] For the Rumanian branch of the family, see, e.g., N. Iorga, *Documente privitoare la Familia Cantacuzino* (Bucharest, 1902).

[4] Giovanni Musachi, *Historia della casa Musachia*, ed. C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin, 1873), p. 319: "Giovanni Catacusino. . .che discendea da uno delli dodici Pari de Franza."

Michael sought the advice of a learned doctor in Wallachia called Georghe Saul Arvanitohoritul who proved obligingly prepared to support the theory that the Cantacuzini were descended from one of the peers of France and to lend substance to that theory by providing a name and a date for their founding father. Dr. Saul's researches revealed a continuous line of succession for the family from Nicholas of Valois in the year 800 up to his own time in 1787. From 1304 until the coronation of the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos it was claimed that the family had been known by the joint names of Valois and Cantacuzino.[5] Prince Michael also consulted the Wallachian wife of an Anglo-Irish nobleman, Count Henry O'Donnell, who was then in the service of the Austrian Emperor. The Countess O'Donnell furnished him with a genealogy of her ancestors which had belonged to her father Radu Cantacuzino, son of the voivode Stefan. This compilation, in three parts, traced the members of the family from the year 1057 up to the time of the Postelnic Constantine Cantacuzino in the middle of the seventeenth century. Disappointingly it made no reference to the house of Valois or to Charlemagne.[6]

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[5] A germ of truth may be thought to lie buried in the alleged relationship between the houses of Valois and Kantakouzenos at least in the fourteenth century. Thamar, daughter of Anna Kantakouzene, *basilissa* of Epiros (*No. 16*), was the first wife of Philip of Anjou and Taranto who later married Catherine of Valois, titular empress of Constantinople (died 1346). Nikephoros II of Epiros (died 1359) was betrothed for a while to a daughter of Catherine of Valois in 1338. He subsequently married into the Kantakouzenos family by taking to wife Maria, daughter of the Emperor John VI (see *infra, No.* 27).

It might be supposed that the form and derivation of the name Kantakouzenos would throw some light on the true origin of the family. But here the choice lies between romantic guesswork and philological conjecture. Prince Michael provides two examples of the former method of approach. One of his sources believed that the family began with a certain "Luchie Cusin" who married "Serafia Catina," from which union was derived the compound name of "Ca(n)tacuzino." Another informed him that "Luchie Cusinos" had, among his twelve offspring, a son called "Cusinos Caticos," alias Cantacuzino.[7] Such explanations are on a par with the well-known derivation of the name of Palaiologos from the Italian city of Viterbo, on the ground that "Palaios Logos" is the Hellenization of *vetus verbum*.[8] That the name Kantakouzenos is a compound formation seems, however, a reasonable assumption; and it is rather more than tempting to suppose that its original form was "Katakouzenos" and that, as with other Byzantine names beginning with the same prefix, it denotes association with a particular locality.[9] Working on this principle the late K. Amantos, supported by D. A. Zakythenos, proposed to derive the name Ka(n)takouzenos from the compound κατὰ-κουζηνᾶν or κατὰ-κουζηνόν.[10] Kouzenás was a local name for the southern part of Mount Sipylon near Smyrna in the middle ages. A monastery of St. Theophylaktos called "of Kouzenas" existed there in the eleventh century; and in the thirteenth century the Empress Eirene, wife of John III Batatzes of Nicaea, founded there a convent of the Theotokos at the same time that her husband founded the monastery of Sosandra.[11] The original form of the name seems likely therefore to have been Katakouzenos rather than Kantakouzenos. But both forms are in fact found in the sources even as late as the sixteenth century, and the evidence indicates that Greek writers thought the latter form to be the more correct, while Western and Slav writers found the forms "Catacusino" or "Catacusinus" more to their taste.[12]

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[6] The fruits of Prince Michael's investigations, which include a Rumanian adaptation of the relevant pages of DuCange's *Familiae Byzantinae*, were edited by N. Iorga, *Genealogia Cantacuzinilor de Banul Mihai Cantacuzino* (Bucharest, 1902). Cf. N. Iorga, *Despre Cantacuzini* (Bucharest, 1902), pp. x-xii.

[7] Iorga, *Genealogia*, p. 3.

[8] For the alleged Viterban ancestry of the Palaiologoi, see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 17, note 5.

[9] Cf. such names as Katakalon, Katakalenos, Katabolenos, in, e.g., V. Laurent, *Documents de Sigillographie byzantine. La collection C. Orghidan* (Paris, 1952), nos. 137, 205, 211 (Katakalos, Katakalon); S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici Srpskih Država* (Belgrade, 1912), p. 555 (Katakalenos); Kantak. iii, 76: II, p. 474, 16 (Katabolenos). Others have declared the name to be of non-Greek origin (cf. Filitti, p. 2). H. Moritz, *Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern . . .*, is for once unhelpful, though suggesting that names ending in *-enos* are adjectival forms derived from place-names (e.g., Synadenos from Synada in Phrygia: Moritz, II, p. 40). One would thus have to discover a place called "Kantakouza." Other fourteenth-century proper names in *-enos*, of evidently varied derivations, are, e.g.: Chandrenos, Deblitzenos, Kasandrenos, Lampenos, Makrenos, Maliasenos, Melissenos, Philanthropenos, Radenos, Sarantenos, Spartenos.

[10] K. Amantos, "Γλωσσικά," *BZ*, XXVIII (1928), pp. 14–25; D. A. Zakythenos, in Ἑλληνικά, III (1930), pp. 545–546; Amantos, *ibid.*, p. 546. Amantos adduces as analogies the names Κατασάββας or Κατασάμβας (derived from ὁ κατὰ Σάββαν, referring to the monastery of St. Sabas) and Καταφλῶρος (derived from the monastery τῶν Φλώρου in Constantinople); though the latter analogy has since been refuted by Ph. I. Koukoules, Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ Λαογραφικά, I (Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν Ἐπιστημονικαὶ Πραγματεῖαι, σειρὰ φιλολογικὴ καὶ θεολογική, 5) (Athens, 1950), pp. 5–6. Cf. P. Wirth, "Nikolaos ὁ Καταφλῶρον," *BZ*, LVI (1963), pp. 235–236.

[11] Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'histoire et la géographic de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081–1317) particulièrement au XIII^{e} siècle," *Travaux et mémoires*, I (Paris, 1965), p. 90 and notes 112, 114, p. 96. Amantos, *loc. cit.*, p. 15. Kouzenás or Kouzenós as a name for Mt. Sipylon is found also in the following sources: George Kedrenos (Cedrenus), *Historiarum Compendium* (ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* [1839]), II, p. 610, 21–22 (μονὴ τοῦ Κουζηνοῦ in the Theme of Thrakesion); Michael Glykas, *Annales* (ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* [1836]), p. 581, 13–14 (referring to a miracle that took place ἐν τῷ θέματι τῶν Θρᾳκησίων περὶ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κουζινᾶ [*sic*]); Theodore II Laskaris, in *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistolae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), no. CXVI, p. 162, 3, p. 163, 17 (referring to the monastery of the Theotokos called τοῦ Κουζηνᾶ); cf. no. LXIX, p. 96, 9; *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum*, ed. G. Parthey (Berlin, 1866), p. 315, no. 71 (Σίπυλον ὄρος ὁ νῦν Κουσινᾶς). Cf. X. Siderides, Μανουὴλ Ὁλοβώλου, Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μιχαὴλ Η' Παλαιολόγον, *EEBS*, III (1926), p. 189 note 1 ([Σίπυλον] ὁ νῦν καλούμενος Κουζηνᾶς). "Kouzinos" as a proper name appears in a bibliographical note in *EEBS*, IV (1927), p. 169: ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν νόμιμον παρ' ἐμοῦ ταπεινοῦ κλήμεντος ἱερομονάχου κουζίνου κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὸ ,αχοδ^{ου}....

[12] The orthography of the name has several variants in western sources, e.g., "Catacuscinus," "Catacoxino," etc. Zakythenos, *loc. cit.*, p. 545, contended that the form "Katakouzenos" was not only the earliest but also the most prevalent. On the other hand it is evident that "Kantakouzenos" was the spelling favored by prominent members of the family as early as the thirteenth century. Cf., e.g., the inscription of Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzene Raoulaina (*No. 14*) written by her own hand in Codex Vaticanus

If this derivation of the name is correct it may be assumed that the family came originally from Asia Minor. From the twelfth century onward, however, their interests and their properties seem to have lain in the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire. The Partition Treaty of the Empire drawn up between Venice and the knights of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 mentions, among the properties of the imperial family and the landed gentry allotted to the Republic of Venice, the estates of Kantakouzenos in Greece, apparently in the Peloponnese.[13] The forefathers of the Grand Domestic and Emperor John Kantakouzenos were landed proprietors on a large scale in Macedonia and Thrace, and it was from his inherited estates in the city and neighborhood of Serres that John derived his wealth and prestige; while, in the last two centuries of the Empire his sons and grandsons and some of their descendants linked their family name inseparably with the history of the Peloponnese and central and northern Greece. Prince Michael Cantacuzino cites a passage from one of his authorities recalling the fact that "the Peloponnese, that is the Morea, is the direct inheritance of the Cantacuzini, since the first princes and emperors of that land were of this family."[14]

The prestige of the name in the fifteenth century is reflected in a curious passage in the Chronicle of the Tocco family of Cephalonia and Epiros. The chronicler records how in 1415 the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos bestowed upon Carlo Tocco, Count of Cephalonia, and his brother Leonardo the insignia and titles of Despot of Ioannina and Grand Constable respectively. To set the seal of authority on

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graecus 1899, fol. 9^{r}: Κἀντακουζηνῆς ἐξ ἀνάκτων 'Αγγέλων. A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani* (Vatican, 1964), p. 64, pl. 168 c.

[13] G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (*Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, II, xii), I, pp. 470, 490: "Pertinentia de Cantacuzino: 'Επίσκεψις Καντακουζηνοῦ."

[14] Iorga, *Genealogia*, p. 4. Among the first of these princes is said to have been "Calistos Cantacuzino" who was lord of Corinth and minted coins of gold and silver bearing his own image with the inscription:

Κορινθίου γαῖα, Κραντορικῆς ἀξίας,
Μετοχὴ Καντακουζηνῶν.

This garbled account may very well reflect the known facts of the careers of John Kantakouzenos, governor of Corinth until 1453, and of his son Constantine, governor of Vostitza, after whose heroic exploits a town on the northern shore of the Gulf of Corinth was renamed Cantacuzinopolis. See *infra, Nos. 80, 81.*

the rule of the new Despot and his brother, the Emperor is said to have styled them "legitimate Katakouzenatoi of the blood" and to have sent a despot's coronet to Carlo. This honorific use of the name might be taken as a whim or a solecism on the part of the chronicler; but the editor of the Chronicle has suggested that the name of Kantakouzenos was deliberately employed to confer the dignity of an honorary blood relationship with the imperial family. The blood of the Kantakouzenoi flowed strong in the veins of Manuel II, a grandson of the Emperor John VI.[15]

From its somewhat obscure beginnings at the turn of the eleventh century the family rapidly rose to prominence in the twelfth century. Its earliest known members belonged without exception to the military aristocracy of the Empire; and by the thirteenth century some of them had joined the élite of Byzantine society by marrying into the families of Komnenos, Angelos, and Palaiologos. Thereafter the house of Kantakouzenos is found related by marriage to most of the charmed circle of aristocratic families of Constantinople who, like the senators of the late Roman Republic, perpetuated their species and their influence by assiduous intermarriage. The Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos was entitled to style himself Palaiologos and Angelos, while his children could and did add to the list the noble Bulgarian name of Asen which they inherited from their mother. Less distinguished Kantakouzenoi are found related to the families of Branas, Bryennios, Choumnos, Doukas, Laskaris, Mouzalon, Phakrases, Philanthropenos, Raoul, Synadenos, Tarchaneiotes, and Tornikes. But in the fourteenth century there were also some who, usually for diplomatic purposes, were persuaded or obliged to marry outside the ranks of the aristocracy of the capital. The most famous or notorious case was that of John VI's own daughter Theodora who was sacrificed to the Ottoman Emir Orchan in 1346 (see *No. 29*). But in the last century of the Empire no less than three members of the family became successive Empresses of Trebizond. Another line of the family, after the marriage of Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*) to the Despot George Branković in 1414, became involved in the affairs of Serbia and in the last-ditch stand of the Serbs against the Ottomans. Serbia and also the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) served as places of refuge for several members of the family after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. One whole branch which had settled at Novo Brdo, consisting of three generations of Kantakouzenoi and perhaps as many as twenty-two persons, was massacred on the Sultan's orders in 1477. Others made their escape from Constantinople to Crete, to Venice, and to other parts of western Europe. But there were those, such as the last Grand Domestic of the Byzantine Empire, Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 68*), who imitated the action of their Emperor in May 1453 and gallantly fought and died in the defense of their capital against the infidel or suffered death rather than submit to the Sultan's will.

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[15] G. Schirò, "Manuele II Paleologo incorona Carlo Tocco Despota di Giannina," *Byzantion*, XXIX-XXX (1959–1960), p. 230, lines 2021–2024:

Εἷς τοῦτο ἐδιόρθωσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως
τὸν μέγαν τὸν κοντόσταυλον καὶ ἄρχονταν συγγενῆν του
γνήσιους ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τοὺς Κατακουζηνάτους,
καὶ στέμμαν τοῦ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἔστεψέν τον δεσπότην.

Cf. *ibid.* pp. 227–228, and G. Schirò, Τὸ Χρονικὸν τῶν Τόκκων (Ἑταιρεία Ἠπειρωτικῶν Μελετῶν [Ioannina, 1965]), p. 39, lines 2172–2175.

Among the last known true descendants of the Byzantine family two must be given particular mention, since they took the trouble to inquire into the history of their forebears and have left accounts which, while often fanciful and unreliable, are sometimes of a unique value to the genealogist. Their names are Hugues Busac and Theodore Spandounes.

Hugues Busac was born into the humbler circles of the French ascendancy in Cyprus in the fifteenth century.[16] His father, Odet Busac, loyally served the diplomatic and matrimonial interests of the legitimate heiress to the throne of Cyprus, Charlotte of Lusignan, dispossessed of her inheritance in 1458 and driven into exile first on the island of Rhodes and subsequently in Italy. Thanks to his father's influence at court Hugues Busac was graciously permitted to marry rather above his station. He took to wife Carola, the daughter of James II de Flory, Count of Jaffa, whose father had been Auditor of the kingdom of Cyprus in the reign of John II of Lusignan (1432–1458). Carola's full name, which caused her husband to swell with pride, was Cantacuzène de Flory, for her mother was

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[16] The name is variously spelt as, e.g., Busat, Boussat, Bossat, Bounsat, etc.

Zoe Kantakouzene, one of the five daughters of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos of the Peloponnese (see *Nos. 67, 88*). Zoe had married the Count of Jaffa perhaps in 1442 and seems to have presented him with three sons as well as her daughter Carola. Carola's marriage to Hugues Busac took place between the years 1461 and 1471. Attached as they were to the cause of the wronged Queen Charlotte of Lusignan, the couple followed her court in the various peregrinations of its exile and ultimately settled in Rome where, after the death of Charlotte in 1487, the Busac family was granted a pension by the Pope. Carola bore to Hugues Busac two sons and two daughters. She died in Rome in 1515.

It was for the benefit of his offspring that Hugues Busac drew up the dossier of documents bound into Codex Vaticanus latinus 4789. This manuscript belongs to the early fifteenth century and contains texts of the Assizes of Jerusalem and the Lineage of Outre-Mer. But the flyleaves of the binding are covered with notes relating to the properties of the Busac family in Cyprus and to the history and genealogy of the family of Carola Cantacuzène de Flory.[17] It is evident that the manuscript, Cypriote in origin, was in the possession of Hugues Busac in the sixteenth century and that the notes inscribed on the flyleaves were intended to inspire in his children a proper appreciation of their mother's illustrious ancestry and at the same time assist them at some future date in laying claim to their hereditary properties in Cyprus. The notes are mainly written in what may best be described as a rudimentary form of Greek, though inscribed in Roman characters. They list and relate to one another all the fifteenth-century members of the Kantakouzenos family of whose existence Busac was aware, beginning with the numerous relatives and progeny of Carola's grandfather, George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos. They include, however, somewhat incongruously, a transcript of the title of the *tomos* of the famous synod of Constantinople over which John VI Kantakouzenos presided in 1351, and also the text of the *horismos* of John's son Matthew by which, after his own coronation as Emperor in 1353, he ratified the decisions of that synod. This document was presumably transcribed and inserted to illustrate something of the authority wielded by the two most celebrated ancestors of Carola Cantacuzène de Flory. It is adorned with the monogram of the Kantakouzenos family familiar from the churches of Mistra and elsewhere.[18]

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[17] E. Brayer, P. Lemerle, V. Laurent, "Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789: Histoire et alliances des Cantacuzènes aux XIVe-XVe siècles," *REB*, IX (1952), pp. 47–105 (cited herein as Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*). Cf. J. Richard, *Chypre sous les Lusignans. Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1962), who prints also the list of properties in Cyprus owned by Busac's father and grandfather.

Finally, on some blank leaves bound into the body of the manuscript, are painted four large heraldic devices. One of these represents the arms of the house of Cantacuzène de Flory. The top left quarter of the shield bears a monogram composed of the letters K K N Z and appears to be the crest of the Kantakouzenos family.[19] The monogram is accompanied by the figure of a lion rampant facing left, crowned, bearing a naked sword in its right and a globe in its left paw. The invention of heraldic devices by the noble families of Byzantium was adopted, rather late in the day, from western usage.[20] But the crowned lion appears in other contexts associated with the Kantakouzenos family. It is to be seen carved on one of the towers of the walls of Constantinople beneath the name of Manuel Phakrases Kantakouzenos (see *infra, No. 47*).[21] Another example accompanied a now lost inscription from the city walls. The rampant lion, crowned and holding a sword, was depicted above four monograms which should perhaps have read: Καντακουζηνοῦ Δούκα Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγου.[22] The same emblem may also be seen worked into each of the four corners of a gold embroidered silk hanging in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, on which appear the monograms of Andronikos Palaiologos the Despot.[23]

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[18] P. Lemerle, "Le Tomos du concile de 1351 et l'horismos de Matthieu Cantacuzène," in Laurent, *Vat. Lat.* pp. 55–64.

[19] This monogram, in various forms, is found carved on buildings or fragments of buildings at Mistra and in Constantinople, on a column capital recently unearthed at Topkapi Serai. Cf. G. Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," *BCH*, XXIII (1899), pp. 142, 143, 146. I am indebted to Prof. Paul Underwood for information concerning the example from Constantinople. It occurs again on a jasper cup once belonging to Manuel Kantakouzenos in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos (see *infra, No. 25*).

[20] See A. V. Solovjev, "Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VII (1935), pp. 119–164. The crest of the Branković family of Serbia was a rampant lion facing right: *ibid.*, pp. 142–143.

[21] A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London, 1899), p. 191. A. M. Schneider, "Mauern und Toren am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen aus dem Jahre 1950*, philologisch-historische Klasse (1950), p. 97, no. 15. Cf. C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, LXXX (1965), p. 334, note 91.

The sixteenth-century work of Theodore Spandounes is better known than that of Hugues Busac and of a different nature, being a literary composition of some length whose purpose was to present to western readers an account of the origins and customs of the Ottoman Empire rather than a family history of the Kantakouzenoi. Spandounes himself, however, was related to the family and makes a point of recording the names and deeds of many of its members. His grandmother seems to have been a sister of that Zoe Kantakouzene who married James II de Flory; his mother was called Eudokia Kantakouzene; and he is sometimes designated as Theodore Spandugnino Cantacusino.[24] Eudokia settled as a Greek émigré in Venice probably before 1453 and married Matthew Spandounes, a Greek soldier in the service of the Republic, who was in due course to be honored with the title Knight of the Holy Roman Empire. They had three children, Alexander, Theodore, and an unnamed daughter. The career of Theodore is outlined with that of his mother below (*No. 102*). Suffice it here to say that it was in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, after he had settled in Venice, that Theodore began to compose his historical treatise on the Ottoman Empire. His interest in and knowledge of Turkish affairs had probably been stimulated by an earlier period of residence in

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[22] C. G. Curtis, *Broken Bits of Byzantium*, I (London, 1887), no. 33; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 189. Curtis, followed by Van Millingen, read the monograms as: Κομνηνοῦ Δούκα Ἀγγέλου Παλαιολόγου. But cf. Mango, *loc. cit.*

[23] G. Millet, J. Pargoire, L. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos* (Paris, 1904), I, no. 74, p. 25; II, pl. II, 2. For Andronikos Palaiologos, Despot in Thessalonike until 1423, see A. Th. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen* (Munich, 1938), no. 93. Assuming the identification to be correct, the right of Andronikos to display the emblem of the Kantakouzenos family may have come to him by way of his grandmother Helena Kantakouzene, wife of John V Palaiologos. Alternatively it may be that his father Manuel II made him, as he made Carlo Tocco, a "Kantakouzenatos" of the blood.

[24] The name Spandounes is rendered in Italian as Spandugnino, Spandugino, Spandolino, or Spandolitio; in Latin as Spandolenus; in French as Spandouyn; and in several variant forms in Greek, e.g., Σπαντωνῆς, Σπεντουνῆς, Σφενδωνῆς, Σπένδος.

Thrace with his great-aunt Maria or Mara Branković, widow of the Ottoman Sultan Murad II. His own relationship to the house of Kantakouzenos did not blind him into fatuous glorification of the exploits of all its members who enter into his narrative; his account of the career of John VI may be fanciful; but concerning the members of the family active in the fifteenth century, notably the many relatives of that George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos with whom Hugues Busac also claimed a connection, Spandounes provides much valuable information.[25]

He produced several versions of his treatise. The first, written in Italian and now lost, was dedicated to King Louis XII of France, in whose kingdom the author was then temporarily resident as an exile from Venice, and was translated into French by B. de Raconis in 1519.[26] A revised version, published shortly afterward, was dedicated by Spandounes to Pope Leo X and to Giovanni Giberti, who became Bishop of Verona in 1524.[27] The final redaction was completed in 1538 and offered by its author to the Dauphin Henry of Valois, later King Henry II of France. This was published first at Lucca in 1550 and then, with numerous typographical and other errors, at Florence in 1551.[28] A large part of this Italian version, with all its inaccuracies, was reproduced by Francesco Sansovino in his *Historia Universale* in 1554. But the full text of the manuscript of 1538 was edited for the first time by C. N. Sathas in 1890. Extracts from the final redaction form part of the so-called *Historia della*

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[25] The text of Spandounes used in the present work is the edition of the final and complete Italian redaction of the work prepared by C. N. Sathas, Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, IX (Paris, 1890), pp. 133–261 (see Bibliography, *s.v.* Spandounes). The Preface to this edition gives the fullest available account of the life of Theodore Spandounes, of his family, and of the text, character, and historical reliability of his treatise. Cf. B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*: *La période jusqu'en 1821* (Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 1) (Uppsala, 1962), pp. 305–306.

[26] See Sathas, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. xviii. This version was edited by C. H. A. Schefer under the title: *Petit traicté de l'origine des Turcqz par Théodore Spandouyn Cantacusin* (Paris, 1896).

[27] Sathas, *op. cit.*, Preface, pp. xviii–xix.

[28] The titles of these two editions are given by Sathas, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. xx notes 1 and 2. Cf. K. D. Mertzios, Μνημεῖα Μακεδονικῆς Ἱστορίας (Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 7) (Salonika, 1947), pp. 96–97. A. Potthast, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500*, II (Berlin, 1896), p. 1057, cites an edition of the year 1468: *Theodorus Spanduginus Cantacuzenus. Liber de origine et moribus Turcarum. Florentiae 1468. 8⁰.* This is clearly a mistake. Cf. Sathas, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. xx, note 4.

Casa Musachia of Giovanni Musachi of Epiros. The text was presented to Constantine Musachi by Theodore Spandounes himself.[29]

Hugues Busac and Theodore Spandounes reveal little or no direct acquaintance with the contemporary sources for the earlier period of the history of the family of Kantakouzenos. Of a different order is the late seventeenth-century monograph of John Comnenus, a learned doctor of Bucharest. This takes the form of a biography of the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos which, though laudatory in tone, is comparatively sober and factual in content and evidently based on some knowledge of the two prime sources, the Byzantine History of Nikephoros Gregoras and the memoirs of the ex-Emperor John VI himself. John Comnenus studied medicine and philosophy in Italy, continued his education at the Academy in Bucharest and was appointed physician to Prince Constantine Bassarab. Before the end of the seventeenth century he made a pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, Jerusalem, and Mount Athos; and soon after his return he became a monk with the name of Hierotheos and was elevated to the bishopric of Dristra. He died in Bucharest in 1719. He was the author of a number of epigrams, letters, encomia of his noble patrons such as Alexander and Nicholas Mavrocordato and Constantine Bassarab, as well as of theological works and the inevitable anti-Latin polemics. His biography of John VI Kantakouzenos, written in Greek, was completed in 1699 and dedicated to the Stolnic Constantine Cantacuzino, who had perhaps commissioned it. It was edited in 1888 by Chr. Loparev from the manuscript in Leningrad; another manuscript exists in Vienna.[30]

The same Stolnic Constantine seems also to have commissioned a biography of John VI's eldest son Matthew Kantakouzenos. The author was an Athenian called Argyros and the manuscript of his

[29] It is printed in C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, pp. 315–335, under the title: "Tratto della casa d'Ottomano e come passò in Europa, e della ruina dell'imperio de Constantinopoli, e d'alcuni Signori de quel paese, fatto per Theodoro Spandolitio gentilhuomo Greco, e la donò a me Don Costantino Mosachi nel tempo che la Maestà C. fù in Roma nel 1535, dico de Carlo Quinto."

[30] *Ioannis Comneni medici Vita Ioannis Cantacuzeni Romaeorum Imperatoris*, ed. Chr. Loparev (St. Petersburg, 1888). Cf. H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (*Supplementum graecum*) (Vienna, 1957), no. 79, p. 55. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ο τελευταῖος Κομνηνός, *DIEE*, II (1885–89), pp. 667–679.

composition, yet to be published, lies in Jerusalem.[31] Other similar biographies or eulogies of John and Matthew Kantakouzenos are known to have been composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the edification of those members of the family who, like the Stolnic Constantine or his grandson Prince Michael in Russia, were pleased to think of Byzantine Constantinople as the cradle of their house.[32] But for the genealogist such works, like that of John Comnenus, have a limited value. Of far greater importance, especially for the ramifications of the family in the era of the fall of Constantinople and after, are the notes compiled by the various Serbian annalists and chroniclers, not least those of the Branković family. These, combined with the testimony of the late Byzantine historians such as Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Doukas, Kritoboulos of Imbros, and George Sphrantzes, the so-called Byzantine "Short Chronicles," and the evidence supplied by Hugues Busac and Theodore Spandounes, make it possible to reconstruct something approaching a coherent account of the Kantakouzenoi in the fifteenth century.

For the fourteenth-century period of the family's history most of the evidence derives from the works of the Emperor and monk John VI Kantakouzenos himself and his older contemporary Nikephoros Gregoras; but here the hopeful genealogist meets with disappointment. Both of these historians of the events in which they played so significant a part in the fourteenth century give almost day-by-day accounts of the careers of John Kantakouzenos as Grand Domestic and then as Emperor in Constantinople and of his sons Matthew and Manuel, who were to become co-Emperor and Despot respectively. But neither has much to say about other members of the family. John, who might have been expected to reveal something about his upbringing and his ancestors, makes only one tantalizing reference to his father and treats his other relatives with such a disregard for the exact degrees of kinship that he has been credited by some scholars with a brother and a sister whom he probably never had. Only about his mother, Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzene, is he at all emphatic, a circumstance which reinforces the suspicion that John was indeed an only child who never knew his father and was brought up by his courageous and ambitious mother. Such reflections on the characters of the persons involved, however, are out of place in a work of this nature; and it should be emphasized that, although the section on John Kantakouzenos (*No. 22*) is of necessity the longest, no attempt has been made in its pages to assess the motives that prompted him to action or to make critical analysis of the often conflicting accounts of those motives provided by himself on the one hand and by Gregoras on the other. As with the other members of the family, I have confined myself to what I hope is a reasonably accurate but uncritical outline of the bare facts of his career.[33]

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[31] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, IV, p. 327.

[32] Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 102–105.

The information on the family in the fourteenth century supplied by Gregoras and John Kantakouzenos, disappointing though it is, can be supplemented by reference to other literature of the age such as the poems of Manuel Philes, the letters of Maximos Planoudes, Nicholas Kabasilas, Manuel Raoul, and particularly Demetrios Kydones, the Short Chronicles and the Acts of the various monasteries of Mount Athos and elsewhere. In the mass of late Byzantine material still to be published lies the hope that some clearer picture of the imperial branch of the family of Kantakouzenos may yet come into focus.

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[33] The most comprehensive analysis of the career of John Kantakouzenos remains at this moment that of Val. Parisot, *Cantacuzène homme d'état et historien*...(Paris, 1845). Notable contributions in recent times include the following: T. Florinskij, “Andronik Mladšij i Ioann Kantakuzin,” *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveščenija*, CCIV (1879), pp. 87–143, 219–251; CCV (1879), pp. 1–48. J. Dräseke, “Zu Johannes Kantakuzenos,” *BZ*, IX (1900), pp. 72–84; *idem*, “Kantakuzenos' Urteil über Gregoras,” *BZ*, X (1901), pp. 106–127. F. Dölger, “Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos als dynastischer Legitimist,” *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, X (1938) (*Festschrift A. A. Vasiliev*), pp. 19–30. E. Frances, “Narodnie dviženija osenju 1354 g. v Konstantinopole i otrečenie Joanna Kantakuzina,” *VV*, XXV (1964), pp. 142–147. Ursula V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos*... (Amsterdam, 1965). E. Werner, “Johannes Kantakuzenos, Umur Paša und Orhan,” *BS*, XXVI (1965), pp. 255–276. Lj. Maksimović, “Politička uloga Jovana Kantakuzina posle abdikacije (1354–1383),” *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, IX (1966), pp. 119–193. To these may be added the formative studies on related topics by P. Lemerle (notably his *L'Emirat d'Aydin* [Paris, 1957]); J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959), and his two studies listed in this Bibliography under SOURCES as *Projets de Concile* and *Tome synodal de 1347*; and lastly the many works of R.-J. Loenertz, notably his “Ordre et désordre dans les mémoires de Jean Cantacuzène,” *REB*, XXII (1964), pp. 222–237. More complete references to these works will be found in the Bibliography.

For the earliest period of the family's history the evidence is scattered and meager. Isolated members of the family stand out as more or less distinguished soldiers in the pages of the Byzantine historians and in other documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But few can be related one to the other with any certainty. One major source, neglected or unknown by earlier genealogists, is the long list of descendants of the foundress of the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople described and portrayed in the Lincoln College Typikon in Oxford, several of whom were connected with the house of Kantakouzenos.[34] The seals of certain members of the family also supply some new information. Otherwise, only a handful of names can be added to the list compiled in the seventeenth century by Charles Du Fresne DuCange, which remains the basic study of the genealogy of the Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos as a whole.[35] Those who have come after DuCange have done little more than correct his few errors and build upon the foundation that he laid. Such was the case with Dr. John Comnenus in 1699 and with Prince Michael Cantacuzino in 1787. In more recent times the most significant contributions have been made by the Rumanian scholars N. Iorga and I. C. Filitti. Iorga, whose works have already been noted, was chiefly concerned with the post-Byzantine branches of the family; but Filitti set himself to draw up a comprehensive if not definitive list of the members of the family by generations from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries.[36] It was published in 1936 and, within its limitations, is useful. But it runs to only sixteen pages; there are several omissions and misconceptions; and the references to the sources are far from adequate. A far greater contribution to the subject, at least so far as concerns the family in the fifteenth century, is the extensive commentary on the genealogical notes of Hugues Busac composed by V. Laurent in 1952.[37] This is a minor masterpiece of detective work and has done more than any other single study to elucidate the ramifications of the Kantakouzenos family tree in late Byzantine times. More recently still, in 1965, another Rumanian scholar, A. Randa, has published a short but interesting study of the leading members of the family up to the year 1821.[38]

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[34] See H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921).

[35] The edition employed in this work is that produced in Paris in 1680.

[36] I. C. Filitti, *Notice sur les Cantacuzène du XI^e^ au XVII^e^ siècles* (Bucharest, 1936). Some information on the Byzantine family is provided also by the same author in his *Arhiva Gheorghe Grigore Cantacuzino* (Bucharest, 1919), especially pp. vii-xx.

Finally, honorable mention must be made of some of those scholars who have labored to compile genealogies or prosopographical studies of other Byzantine families whose children and grandchildren became related by marriage to the Kantakouzenoi. The most complete is that of A. Th. Papadopulos on the family of Palaiologos, a study which may well need revision and correction, but one to which the present work is heavily indebted for much of its form and some of its content. Others, to name only the most relevant, are the researches of Bishop Athenagoras on the Philanthropenoi, A. Chatzes on the family of Raoul, G. I. Theocharides on the families of Tarchaneiotes and Tzamplakon and Th. I. Uspensky on the Bulgarian house of Asen.

It is on such foundations that this work, though delving down wherever possible to the original and contemporary sources, has, with all its imperfections, been constructed.

The idea of compiling it was conceived and born at Dumbarton Oaks, matured during a year at the University of Indiana, and attained its present form at the University of Edinburgh. The libraries of Dumbarton Oaks and Indiana University provided almost all the material, and to them and to their librarians I am heavily indebted. My thanks are due to the academic and administrative staff of Dumbarton Oaks collectively, since almost everyone there during the year 1964 to 1965 was at one time or another, willingly or unwillingly, a victim of my interest in the Kantakouzenos family. I am particularly grateful, however, to Fr. John Meyendorff for freely imparting his special knowledge of the Emperor John VI, and to Mrs. Jelisaveta Allen for her assistance in hunting down and elucidating some of the Serbian sources. In a more general sense I owe a debt of gratitude, either for their patience as an audience or for their advice and encouragement, to Professors Alfred Bellinger, Romilly Jenkins, Ihor Ševčenko, and Paul Underwood. I have also received valuable help and suggestions from Fr. G. T. Dennis, Prof. D. J. Geanakoplos, Dr. W. E. Kaegi, Jr., Dr. A. T. Luttrell, Prof. C. Mango, and Prof. S. Vryonis; and finally I must acknowledge the care and skill of Miss Julia Warner in seeing such a discouraging manuscript through the press.

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[37] See Bibliography under Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*

[38] A. Randa, "Das Haus Cantacuzino," *Societatea Academică Română, Acta Historica*, IV (Munich, 1965), pp. 81–87.

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Bibliography

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals and Standard Works

ASP	*Archiv für slavische Philologie*
B	*Byzantion*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*
BS	*Byzantinoslavica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CSHB	*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*
DIEE	Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DR	Dölger, F., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (see Sources)
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
EB	*Etudes byzantines*
EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	*Echos d'Orient*
IRAIK	*Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
MM	Miklosich, F. and Müller, J., *Acta et Diplomata graeca* (see Sources)
MPG	Migne, J. P., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina* (Paris, 1857–1866)
NH	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
SBN	*Studi bizantini e neoellnici*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennike*
Zbornik	*Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda*, Cl. I (*Spomenici na srpskom jeziku*); Cl. III (*Spomenici srednjeg veka*) (Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Belgrade)

Zbornik Radova *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* (Srpska Akademija Nauka, Belgrade)

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Chron. Morea *Chronicle of the Morea.* Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, ed. J. Schmitt (London, 1904); ed. P. P. Kalonaros (Athens, 1940)

Clavijo *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–6*, translated by C. A. Markham (Hakluyt Society [London, 1859])

Cronaca di Morea *Versione italiana inedita della Cronaca di Morea*, ed. Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp. 414–468

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Ecthesis Chronica *Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum,* ed. Sp. P. Lambros (London, 1902)

Enveri, *Le Destan* *Le Destān d'Umūr Pacha* (*Düstūrnāme-i Enverī*). Texte, traduction et notes par Irène Mélikoff-Sayar (Bibliothèque byzantine. Documents, 2 [Paris, 1954])

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THE BYZANTINE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS

No. 1

N. KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1100)

Took part in the defensive campaign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) against the Cumans in 1094, being detailed to guard the Danube crossing at Therme with his colleague Tatikios while the Emperor defended Anchialos.[1]

As a loyal servant of the Emperor he was later entrusted with the task of bringing back to Constantinople from Kyrenia in Cyprus the two young rebels Bardas and the ἀρχιοινοχόος Michael who had refused to obey the orders of Boutomites during his campaign against Bohemond of Antioch in 1102.[2]

Soon afterward the Emperor sent him as commander of the land forces against Tancred in Asia Minor. Here Kantakouzenos bravely but ineffectively pursued the Genoese fleet supporting the enemy after Landulph, the commander of the imperial navy, had fled. He then proceeded to capture the harbor of Laodikeia and laid siege to the city in 1104. The operation was successful, though the enemy retained possession of the citadel. Various places in the neighborhood were captured. In 1107, after being recalled from Laodikeia, Kantakouzenos rendered successful and distinguished service in the war of Alexios I against Bohemond in Albania.[3]

He appears to have been the first member of his family to achieve any distinction or rank; but his first name as well as his parentage and ancestry remain unknown. Anna Komnene, however, describes him as a remarkable soldier whose capabilities were fully understood and appreciated by the Emperor.[4]

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[1] Anna Komnene X, ii.6: II, p. 193, 26 (Leib).

[2] Anna Komnene XI, ix.3: III, p. 41, 16 (Leib).

[3] Anna Komnene XI, xi: III, pp. 46–49 (Leib); XIII, v.4-vi: III, pp.105–111 (Leib).

[4] Anna Komnene XIII, iv: III, pp. 105, 30–106, 1 (Leib): ἄνδρα τοῦτον γινώσκων [ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ] περὶ τὰς στρατιωτικὰς ἐγχειρήσεις ἱκανώτατον. Cf. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 258. Chalandon, *Essai*, pp. 253–256.

No. 2

JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS (died 1176)

John distinguished himself as a military commander in the campaigns of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) against the Serbians, Hungarians, and Pechenegs between 1150 and 1153, in the course of which he was severely wounded and lost the fingers of one hand. Among his colleagues was John Doukas Kamateros. In 1155 he was sent to Belgrade where he defeated a plot of the inhabitants to hand over the city to Hungary. He was killed at the battle of Myriokephalon in September 1176, when Manuel Komnenos and his army were overwhelmed by Kilij Arslan, the Sultan of Konya. His wife was Maria Komnene, daughter of Andronikos Komnenos the *sebastokrator* and a niece of the Emperor Manuel I. They had at least one son, Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 3*).[5]

John is known to have been present at the ecclesiastical councils held in Constantinople in 1157, 1166, and 1170, in the acts of which he is described as *pansebastos sebastos* and γαμβρός of the Emperor Manuel Komnenos.[6]

It has been suggested that he was perhaps a son or grandson of N. Kantakouzenos (*No. 1*), but there seems to be no evidence to support this hypothesis.[7]

Two twelfth-century lead seals in Bulgaria bearing the name of John Kantakouzenos, erroneously attributed to the Emperor John VI, may tentatively be ascribed to this John. Both bear on the obverse the figure of St. Demetrios, and on the reverse the following inscription:

> † Ἰωάννου σε Καντακουζηνοῦ πόθος
> τυποῖ σφραγιστὴν τῶν γραφῶν, Μυρόβρυγα.[8]

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[5] Kinnamos iii, 9: pp. 109, 23–112; vii, 1: p. 293, 16. Nik. Choniates, *de Man. Comn.* ii, 7: p. 121, 24; iii, 2: p. 136, 18: vi, 3: p. 240, 15. Chalandon, *Jean II*, pp. 219, 390, 413, 507. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 143; Ahrweiler, *La région de Smyrne*, p. 145.

[6] *MPG*, CXL, 177C, 236D, 253B. Cf. Chalandon, *Jean II*, pp. 642, 648–652. L. Stiernon, "Notes de prosopographie et de titulature byzantines. Constantin Ange (Pan)sébastohypertate," *REB*, XIX (1961) (*Mélanges Raymond Janin*), pp. 278, 282; *idem*, "Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros," *REB*, XXIII (1965), pp. 232–235.

[7] DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 258, followed by Filitti, p. 2.

[8] One was published by N. A. Mušmov, "Vizantijski olovni pečati ot

John Kantakouzenos m. Maria Komnene
|
Manuel Kantakouzenos

No. 3

MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1179)

Manuel was a son of John Kantakouzenos (*No. 2*).[9] About 1179 he was sent by the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos to command an army against the Turks together with Andronikos Angelos; he covered himself with glory by extricating his troops from a surprise night attack after Andronikos had run away to Laodikeia. Later, however, he caused some offense to Manuel and was put in prison where he was blinded, apparently against the Emperor's orders.[10]

No. 4

JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS, Caesar (floruit 1180–1199)

Niketas Choniates describes him as a brave, audacious, and experienced soldier, but frequently led astray by his foolhardiness and presumption, as displayed by his conduct of the disastrous campaign which finally cost him his rank and title in 1186. He was one of the many victims of the reign of terror of the usurper Andronikos Komnenos (1183–1185). In 1183 he was blinded, though perhaps not completely, and thrown into prison by Andronikos, the

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sbirkata na Narodnija Musej," *Izvestija na Bulgarskija archeologičeski Institut*, VIII (1934), no. 52, p. 349 and pl. 193, no. 52, p. 346 (who read the inscription thus: Ἰωανήκη Καντακουζήνου πρ[ο]θοστύποι σφράγισμ[α] τῶν γραφῶν μου ...βρύγα). The other was described in *Vodac na Narodnija Archeologičeski Muzej v Plovdiv* (Sofia, 1957), pl. 33 and p. 49 f., and published by Chr. Džambov, "Nov oloven pečat na Ivan Kantakuzin," *Izsledvanija v čest na Akad. D. Dečev* (Sofia, 1958), pp. 343–346; on which, see I. D(ujčev) in *BZ*, LII (1959), p. 236, and especially V. L(aurent), *ibid.*, pp. 495–496.

[9] Kinnamos vii, 1: p. 293, 16–17: Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ ... παῖς ἦν Μανουήλ.

[10] Kinnamos vii, 1: pp. 293–294. Nik. Choniates, *de Man. Comn.* vi, 8: pp. 255, 2; 256, 1. Chalandon, *Jean II*, p. 514. Filitti, p. 2, classes him as a probable son of N. Kantakouzenos (*No. 1*) despite the testimony of Kinnamos that he was a son of John (*No. 2*).

charge against him being that he had sent a message by the hand of a prison warder to his relative Constantine Angelos.[11]

He married Eirene Angelina, daughter of Andronikos Angelos and sister of the Emperors Isaac II and Alexios III. The marriage was at first disallowed by injunction of the Patriarch Loukas Chrysoberges (1157–1170) and the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, on the ground that a seventh degree of affinity or consanguinity existed between the partners. But in 1185–1186 the Patriarch's synod, encouraged by a *prostaxis* of Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195), relented and gave its sanction to the marriage.[12]

John's political inclinations, possibly sharpened by his love for Eirene, evidently made him a partisan of the house of Angelos and of the interests of the landed aristocracy against the tyrant Andronikos Komnenos; and he had his reward when his brother-in-law Isaac II Angelos came to the throne in 1185. Isaac gave him the rank of Caesar and appointed him, despite his physical disability, to succeed to the command of operations against the Bulgars in 1186. In the course of the fighting he allowed his camp to be surrounded; and his attempt to retrieve his reputation by charging alone into the enemy's ranks on an Arab steed hardly compensated for the disaster of a humiliating and perhaps unnecessary defeat. The robes of office which went with his rank of Caesar were captured and appropriated by the Bulgar leaders Peter and Asen. John was relieved of his title and his command by the Emperor and thereafter lived in retirement.[13] He appears to have had a son, whose name is not recorded, but who was among the candidates suggested for succession to the throne during the illness of Alexios III in 1199.[14]

A seal in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (figs. 1 A, B) may well belong to this John Kantakouzenos. It bears the figure of St. Theodore on the obverse and has the following metrical inscription on the reverse:

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[11] Nik. Choniates, *Alex. Comn.* 14: pp. 335, 20–336, 4; *de Isaacio*, i, 6: p. 489, 14 f. Cognasso, *Partiti politici*, p. 263. F. I. Uspenskij, "Poslednie Komniny. Načalo reakcii," *VV*, XXV (1927–1928), p. 16.

[12] Grumel, *Régestes*, no. 1167, p. 177.

[13] Nik. Choniates, *de Isaacio* i, 6: pp. 489–490. Cf. Filitti, p. 3.

[14] Nik. Choniates, *de Alex. Ang.* ii, 5: pp. 660, 22–661, 3.

γαμβρὸν κρατοῦντος δεσπότην Ἰωάννην
Καντακουζηνὸν καίσαρα μάρτυς σκέποις.[15]

John Kantakouzenos m. Eirene Angelina
|
N.

No. 5

THEODORE KANTAKOUZENOS (died 1184)

He was among the most active opponents of the usurper Andronikos Komnenos (1183–1185). With the help of Isaac Angelos he occupied and fortified the city of Nicaea. Andronikos laid siege to it in 1184 and Theodore was killed during a sally while charging against the Emperor on horseback. His head was severed, put on a pole, and sent in triumph to be displayed in Constantinople.[16]

It is possible, though not proven, that he was a brother of John Kantakouzenos (*No. 4*).

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[15] The seal, from the collection of G. Zacos, is unpublished, though the inscription has been printed by M. S. Théocharis, "Sur le sébastocrator Constantin Comnène Ange et l'endyté du Musée de Saint Marc à Venise," *BZ*, LVI (1963), p. 278 note 27. For the juxtaposition of the titles Despot and Caesar, cf. Laurent, *Bulles métriques*, no. 724: τὸν Δαλασηνὸν δεσπότην Ἰωάννην τὸν εὐτυχῆ καίσαρα Παρθένε σκέποις. Ps-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, p. 150, 4; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, p. 8 note 3; Théocharis, *loc. cit.* DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 258, suggested that John might have been a son of Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 3*), but the two men seem to have belonged to the same generation. Hopf, *Geschichte*, I, p. 212, states that the archon of Methone (Modon) in Messenia who enlisted the services of Geoffrey of Villehardouin in 1204 and so facilitated the Frankish conquest of the Peloponnese was this John Kantakouzenos ("...Joannes Kantakuzenos, Gemahl der Irene Angela und Schwager Isaak's, der bereits unter Alexios III. nach dem Kaiserthrone gestrebt..."); further that his son, who rejected the alliance with the Franks when his father died in 1205, was the Michael Kantakouzenos (*No. 7*) whom DuCange wrongly supposes to have been a son of John ("...Michael Kantakuzenos, ein alter Anhänger Alexios' III...."). The Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, XIII, p. 711, nos. 8 and 9, follows Hopf. But this is pure conjecture. The chronicler Villehardouin, the only source for these events, gives no names for either of the archons of Methone; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 325, 326: ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1882), pp. 193–194; ed. E. Faral, II (Paris, 1939), pp. 134–137 (de Wailly states, without producing any evidence, that the renegade archon was "Léon Chamaritus, seigneur de Lacédémone"). Cf. Rennell of Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea*, I (London, 1907), pp. 105–106; Miller, *Latins*, p. 36.

[16] Nik. Choniates, *Alex. Comn.* 18: p. 349, 16; *de Andron. Comn.* i, 2: p. 364, 20; i, 3: pp. 367–368. Cognasso, *Partiti politici*, pp. 272–274.

No. 6

ANDRONIKOS KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1170–1190)

Dux and *anagrapheus* of the Theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion in Anatolia in 1175.[17]

This was probably the same Andronikos Kantakouzenos who was sent by the Emperor Isaac II to Thrace in 1189, together with the Logothete of the Dromos John Doukas, to see to providing supplies and necessities for Frederick Barbarossa when he was crossing Byzantine territory on the Third Crusade.[18]

No. 7

MICHAEL KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1195)

Michael was among the conspirators who proclaimed Alexios Angelos emperor in April 1195 when he dethroned his younger brother Isaac II. The others were Theodore Branas, George Palaiologos, John Petraliphas, Constantine Raoul, "and several more of imprudent and fickle temperament, related to the Emperor by family."[19]

DuCange conjectured that Michael was a son of John Kantakouzenos (*No. 4*) and Eirene Angelina. This, however, seems chronologically impossible. John and Eirene were not married until 1185, which means that Michael, if he were their son, could not have been more than ten years old when he joined the conspiracy to overthrow Isaac Angelos in 1195. Michael is rather more likely to have been a brother of John Kantakouzenos (*No. 4*) and thus related to the Emperor Alexios Angelos as a brother-in-law of Eirene. He may have been the father of John Kantakouzenos (*No. 13*).[20]

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[17] *MM*, IV, pp. 317–318. Cf. Chalandon, *Jean II*, pp. 627–628; D. A. Zakythenos, Μελέται περὶ τῆς διοικητικῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχιακῆς διοικήσεως ἐν τῷ Βυζαντινῷ κράτει, *EEBS*, XIX (1949), p. 10.

[18] Nik. Choniates, *de Isaacio* ii, 3: p. 526, 2.

[19] Nik. Choniates, *de Isaacio* iii, 8: p. 593, 15 f.

[20] DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 259.

No. 8

MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1195)

Manuel was entrusted by the Emperor Alexios III Angelos with the task of suppressing the false Alexios Komnenos, who claimed to be a son of the late Emperor Manuel I and set himself up in Ankyra with the help of the Turks in 1195.[21]

It is tempting to identify him with Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 3*), although he is said to have been blinded during the reign of Manuel I. He might conceivably be a brother of Michael Kantakouzenos (*No. 7*).

No. 9

EIRENE-EUPHROSYNE KOMNENE DOUKAINA PHILANTHROPENE KANTAKOUZENE (died 1202)

A note giving her name and dating her death in 1202 as the nun Euphrosyne is added, with other notes of a similar nature, to a Psalter in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos. She is otherwise unknown.[22]

No. 10

MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS, *pinkernes* (floruit 1250)

This Manuel lived in the Empire of Nicaea in the reign of John III Batatzes. He held the rank of *pinkernes* in the year 1250 and is described as an οἰκεῖος of the Emperor.[23]

The Manuel Kantakouzenos, whom DuCange lists as "Magnus Pincerna" and a possible grandfather of the future Emperor John VI, should really be called John (see *infra*, *No. 13*).[24]

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[21] Nik. Choniates, *de Alex. Ang.* i, 3: p. 610, 10.

[22] S. Eustratiades and Arcadios of Vatopedi, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), no. 760, p. 149.

[23] Documents of the monastery of Lembos, in *MM*, IV, pp. 215–216 (cf. *DR*, III, no. 1802), pp. 216–217. Cf. Ahrweiler, *La région de Smyrne*, pp. 145–146. On the significance of the term οἰκεῖος, see J. Verpeaux, "Les oikeioi. Notes d'histoire institutionelle et sociale," *REB*, XXIII (1965), pp. 89–99.

[24] DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 259.

No. 11

EIRENE KOMNENE BRANAINA PALAIOLOGINA LASKARINE KANTAKOUZENE, *sebastokratorissa* (floruit 1260)

Daughter of the *strategos* Branas. She married Constantine Palaiologos, Caesar and later *sebastokrator*, the younger brother of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, about 1259.[25] She had two sons and three daughters. Theodora, the youngest of her daughters, married John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Synadenos and became the foundress of the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople, in which she died as the nun Theodoule. There is a portrait of Eirene in the Typikon of the Convent (fig. 2); the accompanying legend describes her as: Εἰρήνη Κομνηνὴ Βράνενα Παλαιολογίνα ἡ σεβαστοκρατόρισσα καὶ μήτηρ τῆς ἐκτητορίσης. In the text of the Typikon, however, her daughter Theodora calls her: ... τῆς ἁγίας μητρὸς Βραναίνης Κομνηνῆς Λασκαρίνης Καντακουζηνῆς τῆς Παλαιολογίνης.[26]

Eirene Komnene Branaina Palaiologina Laskarine Kantakouzene (nun Maria)	m.	Constantine Palaiologos *sebastokrator* (monk Kallinikos)

Michael Komnenos Branas Palaiologos (monk Makarios)	Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos Palaiologos (monk Arsenios)	Maria Komnene Branaina Laskarine Doukaina Tornikina (nun Mariamne) m. Isaac Tornikes (monk Joasaph)	Na Palaiologina m. Smilec of Bulgaria	Theodora (nun Theodoule) m. John Angelos Komnenos Synadenos (monk Joacheim)

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[25] Akrop. 77: p. 161, 4f.; 82: p. 173, 10f. Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* ii, 5: I, p. 97, 12–15; ii, 13: p. 108, 5–6. Greg. iv, 1: I, p. 79, 19–20. Papadopulos, no. 5, p. 6.

[26] Omont, *Portraits*, p. 364. Delehaye, *Typica*, p. 12, fol. 1; p. 81, 20–21; pp. 145–146.

Theodora laments the fact that she lost both her parents while she was still young; she was brought up by her uncle the Emperor Michael VIII. Eirene died as the nun Maria, her husband as the monk Kallinikos. Their names were commemorated in the convent of Good Hope on 25 October.[27] It is not clear how Eirene came to bear the name Kantakouzene; but neither Theodora nor her two brothers and two sisters appear to have inherited it.[28]

No. 12

MICHAEL KANTAKOUZENOS, Grand Constable (died 1264)

Pachymeres reports that Michael Kantakouzenos was among the officers sent by the Emperor Michael VIII under the general command of his brother John Palaiologos to make war against the Despot Michael II of Epiros in 1263. He was later created Grand Constable.[29]

The Chronicles of the Morea celebrate the deeds of one Kantakouzenos who was *kephale* or governor of the Byzantine possessions in the Peloponnese in 1262. It was to him at Monemvasia that the Greeks of Mistra reported their suspicions of renewed aggression on the part of William of Villehardouin, about the end of 1262; and it was as a result of these reports that Michael VIII sent an army to the Peloponnese early in 1263 to make war on William. The expedition was commanded by the Emperor's second brother Constantine Palaiologos the *sebastokrator*, who was accompanied by Alexios Philes the Grand Domestic, and by Makrenos the *parakoimomenos*; and they were instructed to join forces with Kantakouzenos:

> Κι ἂς ἔλθῃ ὁ Κατακουζηνὸς νὰ ἔνι κι αὐτὸς μετ' ἔσου
> διατὸ ἔνι γὰρ ἐξάκουστος παιδευτικὸς στρατιώτης·
> σπούδαξον τὸ γοργότερον τοῦ νὰ ἔχῃς συμμαχήσει
> τὸν Μακρυνὸν ὅπου ἔστειλα καὶ τὸν Μορέαν κερδίσει.[30]

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[27] Delehaye, *Typica*, p. 23, 30–33; p. 80, 10–13; p. 149. Papadopulos, p. 6, suggests that Constantine and Eirene died about 1271.

[28] Cf. Papadopulos, nos. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, pp. 7–9.

[29] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* iii, 16: I, p. 205, 18–20: συνῆσαν δὲ τῷ μὲν δεσπότῃ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν μεγιστάνων καὶ ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς Μιχαὴλ ὁ καὶ μέγας ἐν ὑστέρῳ κονοσταῦλος....

[30] *Chron. Morea*, lines 4534–4535, 4635–4638. *Livre de la Conqueste*, 336, p. 127. The Chronicles of the Morea give Michael VIII's brother the rank of

After some initial successes the Byzantine army suffered defeat at Prinitza not far from the Frankish capital of Andravida. It is not reported that Kantakouzenos took any part in the campaign of 1263. But at the next encounter with the Franks at Mesikli near Sergiana in March 1264 he led the advance guard of Greeks and allied troops. In the course of what the Greek version of the Chronicle of the Morea describes as a rather ostentatious display of equestrian bravado before the Frankish camp, and the Aragonese Chronicle as a simple reconnaissance foray, he was thrown when his horse stumbled in a ditch and was killed outright by the Frankish knights before he could recover himself or be rescued. The Emperor's brother retrieved the corpse of Kantakouzenos and then sounded an orderly retreat, having no heart to continue the fight after the loss of so famous a soldier.[31]

All the Chronicles are loud in their praises of the chivalrous virtues of Kantakouzenos. The French chronicler calls him: ".j. des plus grans seignurs de Constantinople, et tenus aucques le plus vaillant homme de Romanie, et estoit aussi chapitaine de l'ost et le meillor homme qu'il eust en sa compagnie."[32] The Aragonese version of the Chronicle, however, is alone in saying that Kantakouzenos

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Grand Domestic. But cf. Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* iii, 16: I, pp. 205, 21–206, 2: τῷ δέ γε σεβαστοκράτορι [συνῆσαν] ἄλλοι τε πλεῖστοι καὶ ὁ μέγας δομέστικος ὁ Φιλῆς 'Αλέξιος, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μακρηνός, ὃν παρακοιμώμενον ὁ κρατῶν εἶχε. Kantakouzenos is again referred to as one of the officers with Makrenos (Κατακουζηνὸς ὁ ἐξάκουστος στρατιώτης) in *Chron. Morea*, lines 4978, 5014; *Livre de la Conqueste*, 338j, pp. 130–131; *Cronaca di Morea*, p. 449. Cf. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, p. 33.

[31] *Chron. Morea*, lines 5059–5084; *Livre de la Conqueste*, 341–344, pp. 132–134; *Libro de los Fechos*, 340–347, pp. 76–77. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, p. 39, prefers the Aragonese version of the death of Kantakouzenos, "parce qu'elle est plus conforme au caractère prudent de ce brave gouverneur." He also dismisses the theory put forward by S. N. Dragoumis, Χρονικὸν Μορέως. Τοπωνυμικὰ-Τοπογραφικὰ-Ἱστορικά (Athens, 1921), pp. 167 ff., that the death of Kantakouzenos occurred before the battle at Prinitza in 1263 (as the *Libro de los Fechos* has it) and not after that battle (as stated by *Chron. Morea* and *Livre de la Conqueste*); the Spanish chronicler has simply changed the order of events.

[32] *Livre de la Conqueste*, 344, pp. 133–134; cf. 341, p. 132, where Kantakouzenos is described as ".j. grant riche homme de Constantinople que on appelloit Catacuzino, liquel estoit chapitaine de l'ost et compaignon dou frère a l'empereor." The Aragonese Chronicle, though less effusive, likewise describes him as "el mellor hombre de armas que auia en su companya & que mas sabia de guerra," *Libro de los Fechos*, 341, p. 76.

was the grandfather of the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos: "(Michael VIII) ordenó que fuesse capitan & gouernador su hermano, magadomestigo Paliologo, he en su companya fuesse Cathacosino, el qual era auuelo de aqueste emperador Catacusino que es agora, & enuió en su companya vn Turquo qui leuó en su companya tres mil Turquos."[33] This information, though unsubstantiated by any other source, may well be correct. The father of the future Emperor John VI is known to have been himself Byzantine governor of the Peloponnese (see *No. 20*).[34]

It is tempting to identify this unnamed Kantakouzenos of the Peloponnese with the Michael Kantakouzenos of George Pachymeres mentioned above. But the identification presents certain difficulties. Nowhere in the Chronicles of the Morea is the name Michael applied to the Byzantine governor of the Peloponnese; and Pachymeres clearly states that Michael Kantakouzenos was among the officers in the army that went to Epiros under command of the Despot John Palaiologos and not among those who went at the same time to the Peloponnese under command of Constantine Palaiologos the *sebastokrator*. It might also be objected that the office of Grand Constable usually entailed command of the Latin or Italian mercenaries of the Empire; and Pachymeres expressly records that no "Italian" troops were sent to the Peloponnese in 1263, "it not being suitable for Italian soldiers to be sent to fight Italians."[35] On the other hand Pachymeres also makes it clear that Michael Kantakouzenos did not at that time hold the office of Grand Constable. It must be admitted therefore that the identification of the "renowned warrior" Kantakouzenos of the Peloponnese, who was perhaps the grandfather of John VI, with Michael Kantakouzenos the later Grand Constable, probable though it is, presupposes an error or confusion of names on the part of Pachymeres.[36]

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[33] *Libro de los Fechos*, 335, p. 75.

[34] Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, p. 68 (cf. II, pp. 61, 63–64), remarks that the first Byzantine governor of the Peloponnese under the new system instituted by Andronikos II, whereby the governors were to hold office for more than one year at a time, was "un jeune descendant de l'illustre famille des Cantacuzènes, très probablement petit-fils [*sic*] de Michel Cantacuzène qui fut tué par les Francs à Sergiana, et père du futur empereur de Byzance." P. Kalonaros, in his edition of *Chron. Morea*, note on line 4535, says that the Kantakouzenos of the Chronicles, whom he identifies with Michael Kantakouzenos, was most probably the grandfather of John VI.

[35] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* iii, 16: I, p. 205, 16–17: τὸ γὰρ Ἰταλικὸν μὴ ἁρμόζον πρὸς μάχην Ἰταλικὴν ὁ δεσπότης συνεπεφέρετο. Cf. Dragoumis, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

No. 13

JOHN KOMNENOS KANTAKOUZENOS ANGELOS, *pinkernes* (floruit 1244–1249)

One John Komnenos Kantakouzenos is known to have served the Empire of Nicaea as Dux of the Thrakesion Theme between the years 1244 and 1249 with the titles of ἐπὶ τοῦ κεράσματος and *pinkernes*. In 1249 he commanded an expedition sent by the Emperor John III Batatzes against the Genoese who had attacked the island of Rhodes during the absence of its governor John Gabalas.[37]

It seems likely that he should be identified with the John Kantakouzenos Komnenos Angelos who was the husband of Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina, sister of the Emperor Michael VIII. Pachymeres refers to him simply as "Kantakouzenos."[38] But his other names of John Komnenos Angelos are known from an epigram of Maximos Planoudes devoted to the subject of the church of St. Andrew in Krisei in Constantinople, which was rebuilt by John's daughter Theodora Kantakouzene (*No. 14*). Planoudes provides a somewhat cryptic genealogy for her father:

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[36] Zakythenos, *Despotat*, II, p. 61 note 2, suggests that Pachymeres may in fact have been mistaken in making Michael Kantakouzenos go with John Palaiologos to Epiros instead of to the Peloponnese with Constantine. Dragoumis, *op. cit.*, p. 151, analyzes the accounts of the Chronicles concerning Kantakouzenos and his activities, but without resolving the problem of reconciling their information with that of Pachymeres.

[37] *MM*, VI, p. 183, 14; IV, p. 54, 15; p. 139, 20; p. 216, 25. Cf. F. Dölger, "Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrh.," *BZ*, XXVII (1927), p. 309. Akrop. 48: p. 86, 7 f.; p. 88, 3 f. *DR*, III, nos. 1783, 1785, 1793, 1798. Nikephoros Blemmydes twice refers to John, once with the title of *pinkernes*: Διήγησις μερική, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Nicephori Blemmydae Curriculum Vitae et Carmina* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 33–34; *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), p. 299. Ahrweiler, *La région de Smyrne*, pp. 144–145, distinguishes John, the Dux of the Thrakesion Theme, from John the husband of Eirene-Eulogia, whom she identifies with the John Komnenos Kantakouzenos who was imprisoned by Michael VIII (see *infra*, *No. 19*); but this John appears to have been a nephew and not a brother-in-law of Michael VIII. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 259, seems to have confused John with Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 10*) and proposes that he may have been the grandfather of the Emperor John VI.

[38] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* ii, 13: I, p. 108, 22.

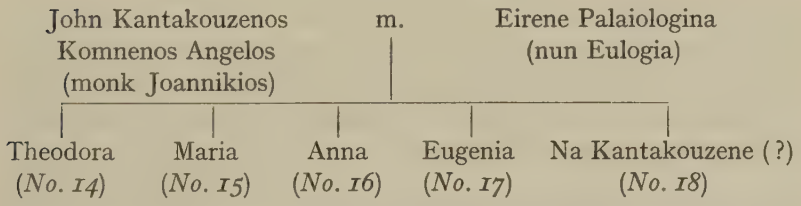
Ἦν δ' οὗτος αὐτὸς υἱιδοῦς Ἰωάννου
σεβαστοκράτορός τε φυλῆς τ' Ἀγγέλων.
Πορφυρογεννήτου δὲ παῖς Θεοδώρας
ἦν οὗτος αὖθις, ἡ δὲ παῖς Ἀλεξίου
τοῦ καὶ μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ βασιλέως.[39]

From these lines it emerges that John was a grandson of the *sebastokrator* John (Doukas) Angelos, one of the sons of Constantine Angelos and Theodora Komnene, daughter of Alexios I Komnenos.[40] Planoudes omits to mention the names of John's parents; but his mother must have been an otherwise unknown daughter of John Doukas the *sebastokrator* and so a sister of the separatist rulers of Epiros and Thessaly, Michael I, Theodore, and Manuel Doukas Angelos Komnenos. It is conceivable that his father was Michael Kantakouzenos (*No. 7*), the supporter and relative of Alexios III Angelos.

John died as the monk Joannikios; the date of his death is unknown, but it seems to have occurred before 1257.[41]

A lead seal now in the Vatican appears to belong to this John. It bears the figure of the Virgin on the obverse and on the reverse the following metrical inscription:

Ἐν διπτύχῳ σε μυστικῇ λαβὶς γράφω
Καντακουζηνὸς Κομνηνὸς Ἰωάννης.[42]



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[39] Sp. Lambros, Ἐπιγράμματα Μαξίμου Πλανούδη, *NH*, XIII (1916), no. 2, pp. 416–417. Cf. Binon, *Prostagma*, pp. 143–145. For Eirene, see Papadopulos, no. 29.

[40] Cf. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 178. On the *sebastokrator* John Doukas, see L. Stiernon, "Les origines du Despotat d'Epire," *REB*, XVII (1959), pp. 114–117.

[41] Lambros, *op. cit.*, p. 417, 10–11. Document of June 1257, in *MM*, VI, p. 70, where he is referred to as deceased (. . .τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου Κομνηνοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ πιγκέρνη . . .).

[42] V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du Médailler Vatican* (Medagliere della Biblioteca Vaticana, I [Vatican City, 1962], no. 177, pp. 184–186.)

John had at least four and possibly five daughters: Theodora (*No. 14*), Maria (*No. 15*), Anna (*No. 16*), Eugenia (*No. 17*), and perhaps Na Kantakouzene (*No. 18*).

Nos. 14–18

THE OFFSPRING OF JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS AND EIRENE PALAIOLOGINA

No. 14

THEODORA PALAIOLOGINA KANTAKOUZENE RAOULAINA, *protobestiarissa* (died 1300)

Theodora was perhaps the eldest of the daughters of John and Eirene.[1] She may have been born about 1240. In 1256 she married George Mouzalon, Grand Domestic, *megas stratopedarches* and *protobestiarios* of the Emperor in Nicaea Theodore II Laskaris. He was murdered after Theodore's death in 1258.[2] In 1261 she married as her second husband John Raoul Komnenos Doukas Angelos Petraliphas, who held the rank of *protobestiarios*; he appears to have been dead by 1274.[3] Manuel Holobolos wrote her a letter of consolation on the occasion of her husband's death.[4]

Theodora was a staunch supporter of the Arsenite faction in Constantinople and also an active opponent of Michael VIII's policy of ecclesiastical union with Rome. Like her brothers-in-law Manuel and Isaac Raoul she suffered persecution and imprisonment for her anti-unionist activities. She is probably the "niece" of Michael VIII referred to as a trouble-maker on this count in the report of the *protonotarios* Ogerius in 1278.[5] Some time after the death of her second husband she became a nun with the name Kyriake.[6] In 1296 she was sent by Andronikos II, together with her brother-in-law Isaac Raoul, to try to negotiate a settlement with the rebel Alexios Tarchaneiotes Philanthropenos in Asia Minor.[7]

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[1] Papadopulos, no. 34, wrongly lists her as the third daughter of John and Eirene. Their third daughter was Anna (*No. 16*).

[2] Akrop. 59: p. 118, 24; 60: p. 124, 4; 75, p. 154, 15; pp. 155, 16–156, 18. Skoutariotes, pp. 291, 292, 298.

[3] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* i, 8: I, p. 24, 1; ii, 13: I, p. 108, 18 f. Greg. vi, 1: I, p. 167, 18 f. Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* v, 27: I, p. 411, 2–7, mentions the recent loss by Michael VIII in the year 1274 of a number of high dignitaries of the court and Empire, among them being the *protobestiarios*.

[4] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosol. Bibl.*, I, no. 110, p. 345: Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ σοφωτάτου ῥήτορος παραμυθητικὴ πρὸς τὴν πανευγενεστάτην κυρὰν Θεοδώραν Παλαιολογίναν τὴν Ῥαούλεναν, ὅτε τὸν θάνατον ὑπεδέξατο ὁ εὐγενέστατος αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ, ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος. Cf. M. Treu, "Manuel Holobolos," *BZ*, V (1896), p. 552.

Theodora was a woman of great culture and learning. She refounded the monastery of St. Andrew in Krisei in Constantinople and sheltered the Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus with his library in the *monydrion* of Aristine which she herself built nearby, after his resignation in 1289.[8] She was well versed in ancient Greek, possessed a rich library of manuscripts, and copied manuscripts with her own hand. A copy of the Orations of Aelius Aristides in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. gr. 1899) was made by Theodora and bears the following metrical inscription:

καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου δὲ τήνδε τὴν βίβλον:
γραφεῖσαν ἴσθι παρὰ τῆς Θεοδώρας:
καλῶς εἰς ἄκρον γνησίως ἐσκεμμένην:
Ῥώμης νέας ἄνακτο(ς) ἀδελφῆς τέκος:
Κἀντακουζηνῆς ἐξ ἀνάκτων Ἀγγέλων:
Δουκῶν φυείσης Παλαιολόγων φύτλης:
Ῥαοὺλ δάμαρτος Δόυκα χαριτωνύμου:
Κομνηνοφυοῦς πρωτοβεστιαρίου:[9]

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[5] See R.-J. Loenertz, "Mémoire d'Ogier, protonotaire, pour Marco et Marchetto nonces de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès du Pape Nicholas III. 1278 printemps-été," *OCP*, XXXI (1965), pp. 384, 392, lines 124–125. Cf. D. M. Nicol, "The Greeks and the Union of the Churches. The Report of Ogerius, Protonotarius of Michael VIII Palaiologos, in 1280," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, LXIII, sec. C, 1 (1962), pp. 14–15. Theodora is called a cousin of the Emperor Andronikos II in the note on the date of her death (see *infra*, note 14).

[6] This information derives from a note on a manuscript of Thucydides in Munich (Cod. Augustanus Monacensis gr. 430 [F]). See S. Kugeas, "Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydideshandschrift Augustanus F.," *BZ*, XVI (1907), pp. 590–602; Sp. Lambros, Περὶ Ἀθηνῶν, *NH*, XVIII (1924), p. 275.

[7] Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* iii, 12: II, p. 230, 10–12.

[8] She had the mortal remains of the Patriarch Arsenios transferred to St. Andrew's monastery from St. Sophia. Greg. vi, 2: I, p. 167, 18–22; vi, 4: I, p. 178, 20 f. Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* i, 31: II, p. 85, 19 f.; ii, 10: II, p. 133, 14–16. Cf. Janin, *Les églises*, pp. 32, 56.

[9] Sp. Lambros, Σύμμικτα, *NH*, X (1913), pp. 347–348; Chatzes, *Raoul*, p. 19; Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, pp. 63–65. Cf. the praises of Theodora's wit and learning in, e.g., Greg. vi, 4: I, p. 178, 22 f.; Planoudes, *Epigrams*, no. 1,

Among her original literary compositions was a biography of the brothers Theodore and Theophanes, the "Graptoi" of the iconoclastic persecutions of the ninth century.[10] Though none of her own letters survives, she was evidently a prolific correspondent and well acquainted with the leading men of her age. Nikephoros Choumnos wrote her at least two letters.[11] Eighteen letters written to her by Gregory of Cyprus survive.[12] After Gregory's death she corresponded with Maximos Planoudes, who enjoyed her special favor and protection. He wrote three epigrams for her.[13]

Theodora died on 6 December 1300.[14] She had at least two children by her second marriage: Eirene Raoulaina, who married Constantine Palaiologos the Porphyrogennetos, son of Michael VIII; and Alexios Raoul, who married a daughter of Demetrios-Michael Doukas (Koutroules) and was made Grand Domestic in 1302.[15]

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p. 416: ἡ πάσαις ἐνὶ θηλυτέρῃσι σοφὴ Θεοδώρα. A note in Cod. Paris. Coislin. 128 indicates that this manuscript was once presented by Theodora to the monastery of St. Athanasios (the Great Lavra) on Mount Athos. R. Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislin* (Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des manuscrits. *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, II [Paris, 1945]), p. 122; Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, p. 65.

[10] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, IV, p. 185; V, pp. 397–399. Cf. Chatzes, *Raoul*, p. 20; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 698.

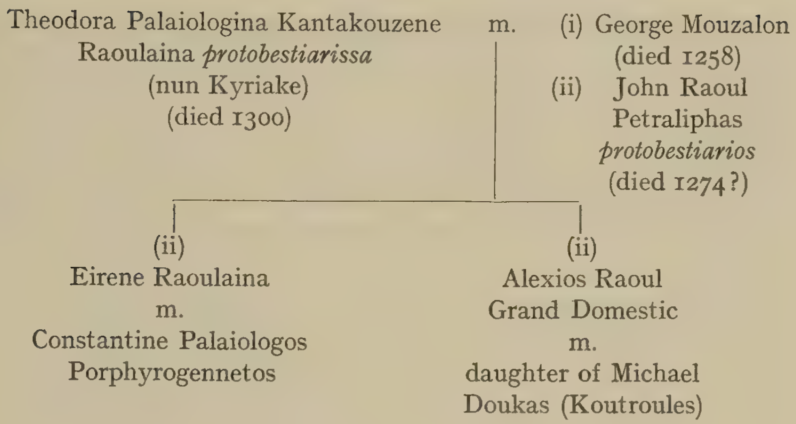
[11] J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* (Paris, 1844), nos. 76, 77, pp. 91, 93.

[12] Extracts from these letters are printed in Kugeas, *op. cit.*, pp. 596–600. Three are edited in the correspondence of Gregory of Cyprus published by S. Eustratiades in Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, I (1908), p. 81; V (1910), nos. ρπζ', ρπη', ρπθ', pp. 450–452, 489–490.

[13] Planoudes, *Epistulae*, ed. Treu, no. 68, p. 245. Planoudes, *Epigrams*, nos. 1–3, pp. 416–418. Cf. Greg. II, pp. 1184–1185; *MPG*, CXLVII, 1175–1178.

[14] M. Théarvic, "Note de chronologie byzantine," *EO*, IX (1906), pp. 298–300; Sp. Lambros, Περὶ Ἀθηνῶν, *NH*, XVIII (1924), p. 275; Chatzes, *Raoul*, p. 22.

[15] Pachym. *de Andron Pal.* ii, 18, 19: II, pp. 153, 154 f. Cf. Chatzes, *Raoul*, p. 23; Papadopulos, no. 37. Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* i, 26: II, p. 69; iv, 22: II, pp. 319–321. Papadopulos, no. 34, p. 20, suggests that Theodore Mouzalon, the Grand Logothete of Andronikos II, was Theodora's son by her first marriage. This seems unlikely. See *infra*, *No. 18*.


Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzene
Raoulaina *protobestiarissa*
(nun Kyriake)
(died 1300)
m.
(i) George Mouzalon
(died 1258)
(ii) John Raoul
Petraliphas
protobestiarios
(died 1274?)
(ii)
Eirene Raoulaina
m.
Constantine Palaiologos
Porphyrogennetos
(ii)
Alexios Raoul
Grand Domestic
m.
daughter of Michael
Doukas (Koutroules)

No. 15

MARIA PALAIOLOGINA KANTAKOUZENE (floruit 1260–1280)

The second daughter of John Kantakouzenos and Eirene Palaiologina. She married three times. Her first husband was Alexios Philes, son of Theodore Philes. The marriage was arranged in 1261 by Maria's uncle, the Emperor Michael VIII, who gave her husband the rank of Grand Domestic. He died in or before 1270.[16]

Her second husband, whom she married about 1270, was Constantine Tich, Tsar of Bulgaria (1257–1277), a recent widower who hoped to improve his political prospects by marrying into the Byzantine imperial family. He was murdered in 1277, but not before Maria had presented him with a son called Michael Asen.[17]

Like her mother Eirene, Maria was an active opponent of Michael VIII's ecclesiastical policy of union with Rome and used her position as Tsarina of Bulgaria to foment hostility to the Emperor. Correspondence and messengers passed between herself and Eirene, and she stirred her husband to arms against the Latinophile Emperor in Constantinople. She also tried to interest the Sultan of Egypt and the Patriarch of Jerusalem in the anti-unionist cause.[18]

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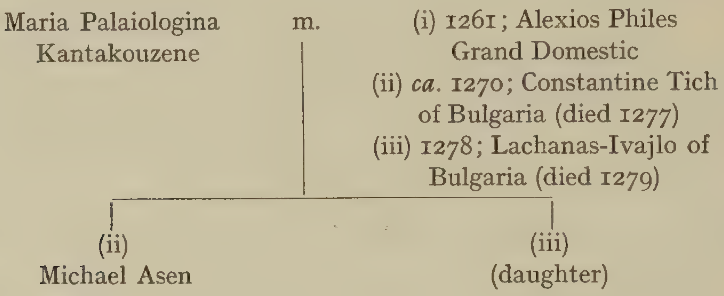
[16] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* ii, 12: I, pp. 108, 18–109, 2; iii, 16: I, p. 206, 1; v, 3: I, p. 343, 3. Papadopulos, no. 33.

[17] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* v, 3: I, pp. 342–344; vi, 2: I, p. 429, 18 f.; *de Andron. Pal.* iii, 26: II, p. 265, 19. Greg. v, 3: I, pp. 130, 18; 131. Cf. *DR*, III, nos. 1969, 1970.

[18] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* vi, 1: I, pp. 427–429.

In 1278 Maria married her late husband's murderer, the Bulgarian demagogue and pretender Lachanas or Ivajlo, by whom she had a daughter whose name is not recorded. She and her son Michael Asen were handed over to the Emperor Michael VIII when the inhabitants of Trnovo finally rose in rebellion against the barbarous Lachanas. He was assassinated by the Tartar Khan Nogaj in 1279. The date of Maria's death is not known.[19]


Maria Palaiologina
Kantakouzene
m.
(i) 1261; Alexios Philes
Grand Domestic
(ii) *ca.* 1270; Constantine Tich
of Bulgaria (died 1277)
(iii) 1278; Lachanas-Ivajlo of
Bulgaria (died 1279)
(ii)
Michael Asen
(iii)
(daughter)

No. 16

ANNA PALAIOLOGINA KANTAKOUZENE, *basilissa* (died 1313?)

The third daughter of John Kantakouzenos and Eirene-Eulogia Palaiologina. She married Nikephoros I Doukas Angelos, Despot in Epiros, in 1265. She was his second wife. The marriage was arranged by Nikephoros' father, the Despot Michael II, as a means of securing his recent treaty with the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. When Michael II died about 1267 Nikephoros inherited that part of the Despotate known as Old Epiros, which comprised Aitolia and Akarnania. Anna, as the wife of a Despot, bore the title of *basilissa*. She evidently adopted and employed her father's name of Kantakouzenos.[20]

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[19] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* vi, 3: I, pp. 430–434; vi, 7: I, pp. 441, 9–444, 6; vi, 8: I, pp. 446, 12–447, 6; vi, 19: I, pp. 466–468. Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* ii, 30: II, p. 189, 1 f. Greg. v, 3: I, p. 131, 14. Jireček, *Bulgaren*, pp. 274–278. A seal of one Nikephoros Lachanas, which may belong to Maria's third husband, is published by B. A. Pančenko, "Katalog molivdovulov (Kollekcij russkago archeologičeskago Instituta v Kple)," *IRAIK*, VIII (1908), no. 491, pp. 147–148.

Anna, like her mother Eirene, who was imprisoned for her beliefs, disapproved of Michael VIII's policy of union with the Roman Church and doubtless supported her husband Nikephoros in his diplomatic negotiations with Charles I of Anjou for the overthrow of the heretical Emperor in Constantinople. But once Michael VIII was dead Anna rushed to her mother's support in persuading the new Emperor Andronikos II to repudiate the unionist policy. In 1283 she was in Constantinople, having perhaps travelled there with the Bishop of Kozyle near Arta, who went to the capital as the official ambassador of Nikephoros of Epiros and unexpectedly found himself consecrating the new Patriarch, Gregory of Cyprus, on 28 March 1283.[21] It is possible that Anna was present at the anti-unionist synod in Blachernai in May 1283; it is certain that she attended the synod at Adramyttion early in 1284, at which she supported the new Patriarch Gregory in company with her mother and her sister Theodora.[22]

It was while she was there that Anna hatched a plot with her cousin Andronikos II for eliminating the troublesome Michael Doukas, heir-apparent of John I Doukas, the *sebastokrator* of Thessaly. Andronikos sent an army to Thessaly led by Michael Tarchaneiotes in 1283, to arrest Michael Doukas. The operation was a failure, for Tarchaneiotes caught malaria and died; but Anna and Nikephoros later contrived to capture Michael on their own and to hand him over to Andronikos, who put him in prison.[23]

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[20] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* iii, 26: I, p. 243, 5–15; iv, 26: I, p. 307, 17f. Greg. iv, 3: I, p. 92, 8–11; iv, 9: I, pp. 109, 24–110, 23; v, 3: I, p. 130, 17–18. Cf. Papadopulos, no. 30. That she was the third daughter of John and Eirene is clear from Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* iii, 26: I, p. 243, 9: τὴν τρίτην τῶν τῆς Εὐλογίας θυγατέρων Ἄνναν. On the date of the death of Michael II of Epiros, between September 1266 and August 1268, see A. Nikarouses, Χρονολογικαὶ ἔρευναι, *DIEE*, N.S., I (1929), pp. 136–141; B. Ferjančić, "Kada je umro Despot Michailo II Angeo?", *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, IX (1966), pp. 29–32. An inscription found at Mokista in Aitolia bears the legend: ANNA BACIΛICCA KANTAKȢZ[HNH]. Sp. Lambros, Ἄννα ἡ Καντακουζηνή. Βυζαντιακὴ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐξ Αἰτωλίας, *NH*, I (1904), pp. 36–42.

[21] Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* i, 14: II, pp. 42–45. Cf. Greg. vi, 1: I, p. 164.

[22] Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* i, 21: II, pp. 58–59; p. 59, 6–8: . . . οἷς συνῆν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἡ Εὐλογία καί γε αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῆς, ἥ τε Θεοδώρα καὶ ἡ ἐκ δυτικῶν Ἄννα ἡ καὶ βασίλισσα. Cf. Greg. vi, 8: I, pp. 165–167.

When Michael's father John I Doukas died Anna became regent for his two younger sons, Constantine Doukas and Theodore Angelos,[24] and when her husband Nikephoros died about 1295 she was left as regent also for her own son Thomas. Constantine and Theodore of Thessaly thought to profit from the death of Nikephoros by invading Anna's territories. But she was able to call on the help of Charles II of Anjou, whose son Philip of Taranto had married Anna's daughter Thamar in September 1294; and in 1300 the two *sebastokratores* of Thessaly made peace. At the same time Andronikos II sent envoys to Anna from Thessalonike.[25]

Anna contributed to the ransom for the release of her son-in-law Philip of Taranto after he was taken prisoner by Frederick II of Aragon and Sicily in 1299, and negotiated with the Venetians on his behalf at Thamar's request. In 1302 Constantine Doukas of Thessaly again broke his pledges and made war on Anna; and again she sought the assistance of Charles II of Anjou. But in 1303, with the death of Constantine, Thessaly passed under the care of Guy II, Duke of Athens; and Anna seems to have seized the occasion to invade it, and sent troops to occupy the castle of Phanari. When Guy of Athens retaliated in strength, however, she claimed that the invasion had been against her orders, surrendered Phanari, and paid a large indemnity.[26]

By her diplomacy Anna succeeded in holding off all her enemies. Against the claims of Philip of Taranto and the Prince of Achaia, Philip of Savoy, to exercise suzerainty over Epiros she turned for help to Constantinople. In 1304 she proposed that her son Thomas should marry Anna Palaiologina, daughter of the Emperor Michael IX; and in the spring of 1305 she made a truce with Philip of Savoy. But in 1306 Charles II of Anjou disinherited him in favor of Philip of Taranto, who promptly made for his new principality in the Peloponnese and then for Epiros. Anna's son Thomas had, however, by now come of age; and it was he who reduced Philip to making terms of peace. This affair hastened the estrangement between Philip and Thamar. He divorced her and soon afterward married Catherine of Valois, titular Latin Empress of Constantinople. In 1313 Thomas finally married the daughter of Michael IX; and some time after that date his mother Anna died.[27]

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[23] Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* i, 25, 26: II, pp. 67–72. Cf. Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 50–51.

[24] Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* iii, 4: II, p. 201, 2–9. John I Doukas died before 1289. Cf. I. K. Bogiatzides, Τὸ Χρονικὸν τῶν Μετεώρων, *EEBS*, I (1924), pp. 146–149. For the full names of his two younger sons Constantine and Theodore, see M. Laskaris, Θεόδωρος Ἄγγελος, υἱὸς τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος τῆς Θεσσαλίας Ἰωάννου, *EEBS*, III (1926), pp. 223–224.

[25] Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* iii, 4: II, pp. 200–202; iv, 3: II, p. 284. *Livre de la Conqueste*, 657–660, pp. 262–264; 872–880, pp. 345–348. Longnon, *L'empire latin*, pp. 283–284; Miller, *Latins*, pp. 175–176.

[26] *Livre de la Conqueste*, 880–916, pp. 348–401. Cf. I. Romanos, Περὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου ἱστορικὴ πραγματεία (Kerkyra, 1895; reprinted Corfu, 1959), pp. 49-50; Longnon, *L'empire latin*, p. 284; Miller, *Latins*, pp. 200-201.

It is possible that Anna was the patroness or foundress of the convent of the Theometor called τῆς Καντακουζηνῆς in the Theme of Thessalonike, whose affairs were the subject of a *praktikon* of the *apographeus* of the Theme, Demetrios Apelmene, in March 1302.[28] Her name as Anna *basilissa* appears with that of Nikephoros and their son Thomas on the founders' inscription in the church of the Paregoritissa in Arta, and also in that of the church of the Nativity of the Virgin at Voulgareli in Epiros.[29]

She seems to have had four children: Michael, who was given as a hostage to Charles I of Anjou in April 1279 and returned to his parents in 1281—there are no references to Michael in the contemporary Greek sources, and he may have died young;[30] Thomas, born in 1288–1289, who married Anna Palaiologina, daughter of Michael IX, in 1313 and was murdered by his uncle Nicholas Orsini, Count of Cephalonia, in 1318;[31] Thamar, who married Philip of Anjou and Taranto in 1294 and died in 1311;[32] and Maria, the eldest child, who married John I Orsini, Count of Cephalonia, about 1293.[33]

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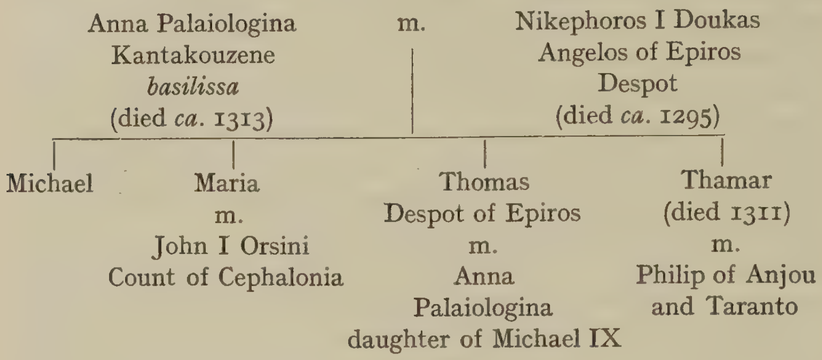
[27] Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* v, 30: II, pp. 450–451; Greg. viii, 1: I, p. 283; Kantak. i, 1: p. 13, 4–6. Cf. Romanos, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53; Longnon, *L'empire latin*, pp. 285–286, 302; Miller, *Latins*, p. 206.

[28] Text and commentary in F. Dölger, "Aus dem Wirtschaftsleben eines Frauenklosters in der byzantinischen Provinz," ΠΑΡΑΣΠΟΡΑ (Munich, 1961), pp. 350–357.

[29] A. K. Orlandos, Ἡ Παρηγορήτισσα τῆς Ἄρτης (Athens, 1963), p. 153 f.; *idem*, Μνημεῖα τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου. Ἡ κόκκινη ἐκκλησία (Παναγία Βελλᾶς), Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά, II (1927), p. 166.

[30] The existence of Michael, son of Nikephoros, is known only from Angevin documents of 10 April 1279 and 25 September 1281. L. de Thalloczy, C. Jireček, E. de Sufflay, *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, I (Vienna, 1913), no. 390, p. 113; C. Minieri–Riccio, "Il regno di Carlo I d'Angiò," *Archivio storico italiano*, 4th ser., IV (1879), p. 17. Cf. D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 328–329, 339.


Anna Palaiologina
Kantakouzene
basilissa
(died *ca.* 1313)
m.
Nikephoros I Doukas
Angelos of Epiros
Despot
(died *ca.* 1295)
Michael
Maria
m.
John I Orsini
Count of Cephalonia
Thomas
Despot of Epiros
m.
Anna
Palaiologina
daughter of Michael IX
Thamar
(died 1311)
m.
Philip of Anjou
and Taranto

No. 17

EUGENIA PALAIOLOGINA (KANTAKOUZENE), *megale domestikissa* (died after 1329)

The fourth daughter of John Kantakouzenos and Eirene Palaiologina. She married the converted Mongol Syrgiannes, who was made Grand Domestic by Andronikos II, some time before 1290. After her husband's death, which occurred before 1321, Eugenia became a nun, apparently with the same name. She died after 1329.[34]

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[31] Papadopulos, no. 31, who gives the date of Thomas' birth as *ca.* 1291. But *Livre de la Conqueste*, 983, p. 385, records that he was just over fifteen years of age in 1303–1304.

[32] Papadopulos, no. 32. Cf. D. M. Nicol, "Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century," *Studies in Church History*, I, eds. C. W. Dugmore and C. Duggan (London, 1964), p. 167.

[33] Maria is not listed by Papadopulos; but see *Livre de la Conqueste*, 618–619, 653, pp. 246–247, 260 f. None of Anna's children seems to have borne the name of Kantakouzenos; but it may well have been through Thamar's marriage to Philip of Taranto, who later married Catherine of Valois, that the myth of the ancestral connection of the house of Kantakouzenos with that of Valois came into existence. See Preface.

[34] That Eugenia was a daughter of John and Eirene was established by Binon, *Prostagma*, pp. 143–145. Cf. Papadopulos, no. 34 a. She is mentioned as being still alive in Andronikos III's chrysobull for Vatopedi monastery of May 1329. Regel, *Chrysob.*, no. 4, pp. 17, 7 f.; 19, 3.

In June 1321 Eugenia helped to negotiate the treaty at the river Melas, the first settlement in the civil war between Andronikos II and his grandson. She was the mother of the more celebrated Syrgiannes Palaiologos Philanthropenos the *pinkernes*, who played a large if not always honorable part in subsequent events.[35]

Eugenia Palaiologina m. Syrgiannes
Kantakouzene Grand Domestic
(died after 1329) (died before 1321)

Syrgiannes Palaiologos
Philanthropenos
pinkernes
(died 1334)

No. 18

Na KANTAKOUZENE (MOUZALON), *protobestiarissa* (floruit 1280–1300)

This member of the family was given in marriage to Theodore Mouzalon by the Emperor Michael VIII. After 1282 Mouzalon became Grand Logothete and *protobestiarios* of Andronikos II. He died as a monk in 1294, but little more seems to be known about his wife.[36] Pachymeres says that she exercised the right of patronage over the monastery of Tornikios in Nicaea, where Theodore was buried.[37] She may have been the recipient of a letter addressed by the

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[35] Kantak. i, 22: I, p. 109, 7; i, 23: I, pp. 113, 20, 114, 7, 116, 10. Greg. viii, 6: I, pp. 320-321. Parisot, p. 50, incorrectly calls her Eudokia. Kantak. ii, 4: I, p. 333, 23, describes her as his aunt: ἡ δὲ μήτηρ μὲν αὐτοῦ [Συργιάννη], θεία δὲ ἐμή. . . . Cf. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 24–25.

[36] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* vi, 25–26: I, pp. 495, 14–496, 4. This passage of Pachymeres has for long been misinterpreted to show that Michael VIII gave "the daughter of Kantakouzenos" in marriage to Constantine Akropolites and not to Theodore Mouzalon. Cf. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 260; Filitti, p. 5; Papadopulos, no. 26. But see D. M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites. A Prosopographical Note," *DOP*, 19 (1965), pp. 249–256, especially p. 250 note 12.

[37] Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* ii, 31: II, p. 193, 2–5: . . . καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν Νικαίαζε κομισθῆναι, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Τορνικίου μονῇ, κατά τι κτητορικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς συζύγου δίκαιον ἐνσοριασθησόμενον. Cf. V. Laurent, in *DTC*, X, 2, pp. 2581–2584.

Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus to the *protobestiaria* and her sister consoling them on the premature death of a relative.[38]

It is possible that she was a fifth and otherwise unknown daughter of John Kantakouzenos and Eirene Palaiologina (*No. 13*). She is described simply as "the daughter of Kantakouzenos" by Pachymeres, who likewise describes John only as "Kantakouzenos" without providing his Christian name; while Nikephoros Gregoras states that Eirene Palaiologina had "many daughters."[39]

No. 19

JOHN KOMNENOS KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1280)

One Komnenos Kantakouzenos is designated as a nephew of Michael VIII Palaiologos in the report that Ogerius, *protonotarios* of the Emperor, drew up for the information of Pope Nicholas III in 1278. His name is linked with that of John Palaiologos, also a nephew of the Emperor, as one of the most troublesome opponents of Michael's attempt to implement the Union of Lyons.[40]

He is therefore to be identified with the John Kantakouzenos whom Pachymeres describes as a fellow political prisoner of the brothers Isaac and Manuel Raoul, who were blinded on the Emperor's orders for refusing to accept the Union of Lyons. John Kantakouzenos escaped the same penalty only by recanting and submitting to the Emperor's will.[41]

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[38] S. Eustratiades, Ἐπιστολαὶ πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, IV (1909), no. ρνη', pp. 116–118; cf. I (1908), p. 90. The letter is addressed to τῇ πρωτοβεστιαρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς παραμυθητική. Eustratiades took this to mean the wife of Theodore Mouzalon. Chatzes, *Raoul*, p. 20, however, takes the "*protobestiaria* and her sister" to be Theodora Kantakouzene (*No. 14*) and her sister Maria (*No. 15*).

[39] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* vi, 26: I, p. 496, 4: τὴν τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ θυγατέρα. Cf. Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* ii, 13: I, p. 108, 22. Greg. v, 3: I, p. 130, 16–17: . . . ταύτῃ [Εὐλογίᾳ] πολλῶν οὐσῶν θυγατέρων.

[40] Ogerius describes them as *Comninum Cantacusinon et Paleologum dominum Iohannem, ambos nepotes Domini mei sancti imperatoris.* R.-J. Loenertz, "Mémoire d'Ogier, protonotaire, pour Marco et Marchetto nonces de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès du Pape Nicholas III. 1278 printemps-été," *OCP*, XXXI (1965), pp. 381, 390 lines 66–67. Cf. D. M. Nicol, "The Greeks and the Union of the Churches. The Report of Ogerius, Protonotarius of Michael VIII Palaiologos, in 1280," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, LXIII, sec. C, 1 (1962), pp. 12–13.

[41] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* vi, 24: I, p. 484, 6: τὸν ἐκ Καντακουζηνῶν Ἰωάννην.

He cannot be identified with the John Kantakouzenos (*No. 13*) who was the brother-in-law, not the nephew, of Michael VIII. But he might well be the unnamed Komnenos Kantakouzenos whose signature appears on a Testament of the year 1283; and it is chronologically possible that he may have been a son of Michael Kantakouzenos (*No. 12*).[42]

No. 20

N. KANTAKOUZENOS (*ca.* 1265–1294)

The father of the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. He served Andronikos II as governor of the Peloponnese from about 1286 to 1294. Almost nothing else is known about him or his career, nor is his first name recorded.

It is a curious fact that John Kantakouzenos himself displays a remarkable reticence about his antecedents. Several of the literati of his age give laudatory accounts of the family and lineage of John and of his sons Matthew and Manuel; but they are couched in such highly rhetorical terms as to be of no factual value. Manuel Philes extols John's blue blood and noble ancestry.[43] Theodore Metochites makes some flattering remarks about John's forefathers in the preamble which he composed for a chrysobull of Andronikos II in John's favor before May 1328.[44] In the Typikon of the monastery of St. John Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion in Macedonia, of which John was named protector, patron, and *ktitor*, it is explained that he was selected for this honor "not only on account of his most Christian virtues and the abundance of his goodness but also because of the piety and faith of his noble ancestors and parents."[45]

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[42] *MM*, IV, p. 101.

[43] Philes, ed. Miller, I, no. CXXXI, pp. 323–330, 3–5:

ὦ νοῦ στρατηγὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἥβης γέρον,
καὶ δένδρον ἀνθοῦν ἀπὸ ῥίζων ὀλβίων
τοῖς ἐμφύτοις αἵμασι τῶν βασιλέων.

Cf. Philes, ed. Martini, nos. 76, 79, 80, pp. 97–118. All of these poems are addressed to John as Grand Domestic. But cf. Philes, ed. Miller, II, no. XV, p. 58, to John as Emperor.

[44] Text in K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, I (Venice, 1872), pp. 193–195.

[45] Text in A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le Mont Ménécée* (Bibliothèque byzantine, *Documents*, 3 [Paris, 1955]), pp. 163–176; *MM*, V, pp. 432–439. Article 21 of the Typikon, composed early in 1322 by Joacheim, metropolitan of Zichna, concerns the guardian and *ktitor* of the monastery. Guillou, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–174.

One of the most fulsome eulogies of the family of Kantakouzenos is contained in the Panegyric composed by Nicholas Kabasilas on the occasion of the coronation of Matthew Kantakouzenos as co-Emperor with his father in February 1354: "You whose ancestors were Emperors, whose grandfathers were the sons of Emperors, more blessed and finer by far than the sons of Aiakos.... As to your parents, what can one say? They are Emperors better and more wonderful than all Emperors...."[46] Demetrios Kydones in similar vein extols the ancestry and parentage of John's second son Manuel in a letter written to him between 1343 and 1345, quoting Plato to the effect that the good become so by being born of the good.[47] Manuel Raoul cites the same passage from Plato in reference to Manuel in a letter that he wrote to John Kantakouzenos from the Peloponnese between 1355 and 1360.[48]

These rhetorical and unsubstantial statements about the family and parentage of John are worthless from the historical point of view; and the historians themselves merely add their contributions to the meaningless verbiage.[49]

The only piece of factual information concerning the father of John VI comes from the pen of John himself. In 1321 John declined to obey the command of Andronikos II to take up duty as *epitropos* of the Peloponnese on the ground that it was there and in that office that his father had died: "For you yourself know better than I that my father was sent by you to govern the Peloponnese at the age of twenty-one and that he died there after fulfilling eight consecutive years of duty; wherefore I have the saddest memories of the Peloponnese and my mother has many a time and oft said to me that it would cause her great grief if I were to take office in that country, which was the cause of my being orphaned of such a father."[50]

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[46] Nic. Kabasilas, *Panegyrics*, no. I, p. 114, 24–29:... [σοί] ᾧ πρόγονοι μὲν βασιλεῖς, πάπποι δὲ βασιλέων παῖδες, πολλῷ γ' εὐδαιμονέστεροι καὶ καλλίους τῶν Αἰακιδῶν ... Πατέρες δέ· τούτων δὲ πέρι τί τις ἂν εἴποι; Βασιλεῖς βασιλέων ἁπάντων πολλῷ γ' ἀμείνους καὶ θαυμαστότεροι .... That this Panegyric was composed for the coronation of Matthew in February 1354 rather than for his proclamation as Emperor in the spring of 1353 seems to be indicated by the language of p. 116, 30 f.

[47] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 17, p. 46, 4–9: Ἀγαθούς τινάς φησι γεγενῆσθαι Πλάτων διὰ τὸ φῦναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν. ὅτι δὲ σοὶ μᾶλλον προσήκει τὸ ῥῆμα ἢ περὶ ὧν εἴρηται πρότερον, τοῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς συγχωρῆσαι. ὅ τε γὰρ πατὴρ βασιλεύς, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σχήματος δὲ κάλλιον αὐτῷ τὸ γένος τῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μόνῃ σεμνυνομένων, ἥ τ' ἀρετὴ τοσαύτη ὥστ' εἰ μὴ καλῶς ποιῶν ἐβασίλευεν, ἆθλον ἂν τοῦ τρόπου τὸ σχῆμα τούτῳ δικαίως ἐδέδοτο.

[48] Man. Raoul, *Corr.*, no. 2, pp. 140–142. Cf. Plato, *Menexenus*, 237 a.

[49] E.g., Doukas vii, 1: p. 51, 19–20 (Grecu), describes John as: ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ τῶν πάλαι ἡρώων ἀπόγονος. Cf. Doukas v, 1: p. 41 (Grecu): ... τῶν εὐγενῶν, ὡς εἴποι τις, ἄνθος εὔοσμον.

John's father is thus known to have been appointed governor of the Peloponnese by Andronikos II. Andronikos reformed the system of government there by appointing *epitropoi* with longer terms of office and wider jurisdiction than the *kephalai* who had administered it since the restoration of Byzantine rule in 1262. John's father was twenty-one years of age at the time of his appointment, which must have occurred after 1282, when Andronikos II came to the throne; and he was twenty-nine at the time of his death in the Peloponnese, having held office continuously for the space of eight years. According to the Aragonese version of the Chronicle of the Morea John's VI's grandfather was that *kephale* of the Peloponnese who died fighting the Franks in 1264.[51] If this account is correct, and if it be accepted that the *kephale* in question was the paternal grandfather of John VI, then John's father must have been born at latest in 1265. The date of his death at the age of twenty-nine would thus be 1294, and the date of his appointment as governor of the Peloponnese would be 1286.[52]

Other information about him is so far lacking. It would appear, however, that he had some connection with Maria-Martha Palaiologina, the sister of Michael VIII who founded the convent of Kyra-Martha in Constantinople, since John Kantakouzenos claimed to have inherited this property from his father's estate. His mother was buried in this convent.[53]

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[50] Kantak. i, 17: I, p. 85, 2–13: οὐκ ὄκνῳ εἴκων, ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἧττω τῆς ἐμῆς ἀξίας νομίζων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκεῖ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς τετελευτηκότος, οὐκ ἂν οἴσων τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐνδιατρίβειν. οἶσθα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐμοῦ βέλτιον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς ἔτος ἓν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι γεγενημένος τῆς ἡλικίας οὑμὸς πατὴρ, ὅτε παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξεπέμφθη Πελοποννήσου, ὀκτὼ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐνδιατρίψας, τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖ· οὗ δὴ χάριν καὶ πρὸς τὴν μνήμην μόνην ἀηδῶς διάκειμαι Πελοποννήσου, πολλὰ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διειλεγμένης, ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτῇ γένοιτο καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐμὲ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης, ἣ τοιούτου πατρὸς ἀπέδειξεν ὄρφανον, ἄρξαι. διὰ ταῦτα συγγνώμης αἰτῶ τυχεῖν, ἐκεῖ μὴ βουλόμενος ἀπελθεῖν.

[51] *Libro de los Fechos*, 335, p. 75. See Michael Kantakouzenos (*No. 12*).

[52] Cf. Filitti, pp. 4–5; Dölger, *Johannes VI*, p. 196 note 7. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 68–70 (cf. II, pp. 63–64), followed by Bosch, *Andronikos* III, p. 19 note 3, supposes that John's father held office in the Peloponnese from 1308 to 1316 and that he died at the age of twenty-nine, killed probably on the field of battle in 1316, before he had time to demonstrate "ses excellentes qualités de gouverneur et de soldat." This conjecture, first apparently formulated by Florinskij, p. 96 note 2, seems to be based on the fact that his successor as governor of the Peloponnese, Andronikos Palaiologos Asen, father-in-law of John VI, is known to have been there in 1316. But there may well have been an earlier successor to John's father and Andronikos Asen may well have been in office as governor before the year 1316.

No. 21

THEODORA PALAIOLOGINA ANGELINA KANTAKOUZENE (died 1342)

The mother of the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. Rather more is known about John's mother than about his father, for she outlived her husband by almost fifty years and played no small part in her son's rise to power. She was a widow by 1294 and seems to have reared her son John, probably born after his father's death, as an only child.[54]

Her own parentage remains obscure, but she appears to have been connected with the families of Palaiologos and Angelos. She is described in the contemporary sources with the names of Kantakouzene and Palaiologina singly or together, and once with the names Palaiologina Angelina Kantakouzene.[55] In more than one place she is designated as an aunt of the Emperor Andronikos III.[56] Filitti, following DuCange, proposed to make her a daughter of Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes, Grand Domestic "in 1250", and Maria-Martha Palaiologina, sister of Michael VIII. But the impossibility of this relationship was demonstrated by F. Dölger.[57] Ae. Martini believed, on no known evidence, that she was related on her father's side to the house of Tarchaneiotes.[58] Papadopulos, on the other hand, suggests that Theodora was a daughter of Theodote Glabaina Tarchaneiotissa (herself probably a daughter of Michael Glabas) and the famous general Chandrenos, and proposes 1275–1280 as the date of her birth.[59]

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[53] Kantak. iv, 42: III, p. 307, 12–13: . . . τὴν τῆς Μάρθας προσαγορευομένην [μονὴν], ἐκ πατρῴου κλήρου διαφέρουσαν Καντακουζηνῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ.

[54] Kantak. i, 17: I, p. 85. See *No. 20*.

[55] Theodora is described with the name of Kantakouzene alone at Kantak. i, 52: I, p. 260, 4; Greg. x, 2: I, p. 530, 10; xii, 13: II, p. 619, 5; with the name of Palaiologina alone at Kantak. i, 25: I, p. 125, 16; i, 28: I, p. 138, 5; with the names Kantakouzene Palaiologina together at Kantak. ii, 15: I, p. 395, 18; with the three names of Palaiologina Angelina Kantakouzene in Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, no. 18, pp. 82–87.

[56] Kantak. i, 25: I, p. 125, 16: τὴν Παλαιολογίναν Θεοδώραν, τὴν αὐτοῦ [’Ανδρονίκου] μὲν θείαν, μητέρα δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου. Kantak. i, 52: I, p. 260, 4; ii, 15: I, p. 395, 18. Regel, *Chrysob.*, no. 4, pp. 14–19 (*DR*, IV, no. 2746). Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, no. 18, p. 87 line 87.

She was evidently a woman of great character and administrative ability. Her son describes her as being "much experienced in the management of public affairs and possessed of a more than feminine strength of mind." Gregoras also highly commends Theodora's prudence, judgement, and resourcefulness.[60] After the outbreak of the second phase of the civil war, in December 1321, Andronikos III put her in charge of the city of Didymoteichos with his own wife Eirene.[61] In 1322, when the fortunes of Andronikos were at a low ebb, Theodora offered to finance his operations, thus enabling him to continue the struggle.[62] In 1327 she was again left with the Emperor's wife to take charge of Didymoteichos.[63] A year later it was with her that Leo Kalothetos of Chios negotiated over the proposed liberation of the island from Genoese occupation.[64]

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[57] DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 259. Filitti, p. 5. Cf. F. Dölger (review of Filitti's monograph), *BZ*, XXXVII (1937), pp. 538–539, and again in *Johannes VI*, p. 196 note 7. See also Binon, *Prostagma*, p. 147 and note 5. John Comnenus, *Vita*, p. 4, makes her a "granddaughter of the sister of Michael Palaiologos."

[58] Philes, ed. Martini, p. 136.

[59] Papadopulos, no. 26. For the known family connections of the Kantakouzenoi with the family of Tarchaneiotes, see *infra, No. 31*. The most comprehensive single study of Theodora and her career seems to be that of Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, pp. 82–87.

[60] Kantak. i, 25: I, p. 125, 18–20: ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς διοίκησιν ἔμπειρος πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ φρονήσεως ἐῤῥωμενεστέρας ἢ κατὰ φύσιν γυναικείαν τυχοῦσα. Greg. xi, 2: I, p. 530, 12–14: βουλευτικὴν γυναῖκα καὶ σεμνότητος ἤθεσι κοσμουμένην καὶ βαθεῖαν πλουτοῦσαν τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ πάνυ τι σφόδρα ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις εὐμήχανον. Greg. xii, 13: II, p. 619, 5–8: τῇ Καντακουζηνῇ...ἅτε καὶ μάλιστα πάντων δόξῃ καί περιφανείᾳ προεχούσῃ, καὶ βουλῶν καὶ ἀποῤῥήτων προεστηκυίᾳ βασιλικῶν.

[61] Kantak. i, 25: I, p. 125, 16–20.

[62] Kantak. i, 28: I, p. 138, 5 f.

[63] Kantak. i, 52: I, p. 260, 4.

[64] Kantak. ii, 10: I, p. 371, 17 f.; pp. 372, 19–373, 5. Kalothetos is described as being a very old friend of the Kantakouzenos family, his parents and John's parents having been on intimate terms and he himself having been attached to John's household for many years. Kantak. ii, 10: I, p. 371, 14–16; pp. 372, 22–373, 2. Cf. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 112–118.

From 1328 until her death fourteen years later Theodora seems to have resided in Constantinople. When Andronikos III fell ill in January 1330 she made insistent inquiries as to what arrangements he had made for his mother Xene (Rita-Maria) in the event of his death.[65] In 1335, during the absence of Andronikos from the city, she assisted the Empress Anne of Savoy to suppress a conspiracy in Constantinople.[66] When her son John left the city in September 1341 Theodora stayed behind to be a comfort to the Empress Anne; but when war was declared in October 1341 she was put under house arrest by Alexios Apokaukos, together with her youngest grandson Andronikos and Eirene Palaiologina, the wife of her eldest grandson Matthew.[67] Later in the year she was placed under stricter guard and, as the mother of the rebellious Grand Domestic, subjected to special forms of persecution by Apokaukos. Insulted and ill-treated, deprived of material comforts and of medical attention, Theodora finally succumbed to an illness and died on 6 January 1342. She was buried in the Convent of Kyra-Martha by Theodora, Andronikos III's widowed sister, the nun Theodosia, whom she had befriended. Gregoras, with characteristic bigotry, later accused John Kantakouzenos of having hastened his mother's tragic end by chasing after the false doctrines of Palamas.[68]

She and her family owned large landed estates in the district of Serres in Macedonia. In or before May 1329 she, as Theodora Kantakouzene, the aunt of Andronikos III, and her son John, as Grand Domestic, made over to the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos the *metochion* of St. Demetrios at Serres together with its gardens and pasture lands.[69] In October 1338, as Theodora Palaiologina Angelina Kantakouzene, again with her son John, she granted to the monastery of Koutloumousiou on Athos the domain and church called Eleousa at Serres along with its properties, which she had bought back from the monastery of the Pantokrator at

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[65] Kantak. ii, 15: I, p. 395, 18 f.

[66] Greg. xi, 2: I, p. 530, 10–17.

[67] Kantak. iii, 16: II, p. 105, 8 f.; iii, 22: II, p. 136, 18–22.

[68] Kantak. iii, 23: II, p. 143, 17–20; iii, 36: II, pp. 219, 22–223, 3. Greg. xii, 13: II, pp. 617, 1–620, 4; xviii, 4: II, p. 886, 17–19.

[69] Regel, *Chrysob.*, no. 4, pp. 14–19.

Constantinople.[70] Theodora also seems to have owned property on the island of Lemnos, which she made over to the monastery of Vatopedi at some stage.[71]

In spite of several contrary statements by later genealogists and historians John Kantakouzenos appears to have been the only child of Theodora and her husband.[72]

N. Kantakouzenos (died 1294) m. Theodora Palaiologina Angelina Kantakouzene (died 1342)

John Kantakouzenos
Grand Domestic
and
Emperor as John VI

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[70] Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, no. 18, pp. 82–87. A document of 1338 in Vatopedi may refer to this transaction. It deals with "lands in Serres, bought by the aunt of the Emperor Kantakouzenos (*sic*), Angelina Kantakouzene," where the text should perhaps read "aunt of the Emperor Palaiologos." L. Sophronios, Ἁγιορειτικῶν κωδίκων σημειώματα. Β) Ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου. Ἔγγραφα περὶ τῆς ἐν Βερροίᾳ Μονῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου, Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, II (1918), no. 69, p. 90: Ἔγγραφα πρατήρια διάφορα περὶ ἀγρῶν ἐν Σέρραις, ἀγορασθέντων παρὰ τῆς θείας τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Καντακουζηνοῦ Ἀγγελίνης Καντακουζηνῆς (1338), ἐπικεκυρωμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ πρωτοδίκου τῆς μητροπόλεως Σερρῶν Σεργίου Συναδηνοῦ.

[71] Goudas, *Vatopedi*, no. 18, p. 247 (of October 1366): ἡ ἁγία μου κυρία ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ.... In Stephen Dušan's chrysobull of October 1345 for the monastery of St. John Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion and its *metochion* in Serres mention is made among its estates of the ζευγηλατείου τοῦ κατεχομένου παρὰ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τριῶν χειμερινῶν ὑδρομυλώνων. Guillou, *Prodrome*, no. 39, p. 130, 78–79.

[72] DuCange credits Theodora with three children: John, Nikephoros the *sebastokrator*, and a daughter "N. Cantacuzena" who is supposed to have married Constantine Akropolites. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, pp. 259–260; Iorga, *Genealogia*, p. 12; cf. Filitti, p. 5; Papadopulos, no. 26. For "N. Cantacuzena," who was in fact the wife of Theodore Mouzalon and not a daughter of Theodora, see *supra, No. 18*. For Nikephoros the *sebastokrator*, who was a cousin and not a brother of John Kantakouzenos, see *infra, No. 34*. John Comnenus, *Vita*, p. 4, credits Theodora with a daughter, apparently on the evidence of Kantak. iii, 26: II, p. 161, 21: πέμψας τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἅμα στρατιᾷ. But this refers not to a sister of John Kantakouzenos, but to the sister of John and Manuel Asen, namely John's wife.

No. 21a

ANGELOS, *megas stratopedarches* (JOHN KOMNENOS DOUKAS ANGELOS SYNADENOS) (floruit 1275–1285)

The *megas stratopedarches* Angelos was an uncle of John VI Kantakouzenos. He was also an uncle of Syrgiannes Palaiologos Philanthropenos the *pinkernes*, who was a grandson of John Kantakouzenos (*No. 13*) and Eirene Palaiologina, and a son of Eugenia Palaiologina (*No. 17*), whom John VI designated as his aunt.[73]

In his memoirs John VI recalls that it was with his relative Syrgiannes that he first learnt the art of war under the instruction of their common uncle the *megas stratopedarches* Angelos.[74] Angelos also was an uncle of the Emperor Andronikos III.[75] He was a celebrated soldier whose martial exploits were extolled by Manuel Philes.[76]

Ae. Martini proposed to identify him with the "Angelos Tarchaneiotes Doukas" for whom Philes composed epitaphs.[77] This identification might make him, in the broad sense, an uncle of John VI Kantakouzenos. But there is no evidence that this Angelos Tarchaneiotes ever held the rank of *megas stratopedarches*. S. Binon more convincingly proposed to identify him with John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Synadenos, *megas stratopedarches* under Michael VIII and Andronikos II, who commanded armies in Thessaly and Albania in the years 1275–1285. He was the husband of Theodora, foundress of the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople, and father of the *protostrator* Theodore Synadenos, the contemporary of John VI. He died as a monk with the name of Joacheim.[78]

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[73] Kantak. ii, 4: I, p. 333, 23: ἡ δὲ μήτηρ μὲν αὐτοῦ [Συργιάννη], θεία δὲ ἐμὴ....

[74] Kantak. ii, 4: I, p. 334, 5–6: ὑφ' ἑνὶ γὰρ καθηγεμόνι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ θείῳ 'Αγγέλῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τὰ πολέμια ἐδιδασκόμεθα.

[75] Regel, *Chrysob.*, no. 4, p. 17 (chrysobull of Andronikos III of May 1329 for the monastery of Vatopedi); cf. *DR*, IV, nos. 2744, 2746.

[76] Philes, ed. Miller, I, nos. 188–189, pp. 90–91; 201–205, pp. 99–100; 218, 221, pp. 115–117; 231, pp. 122–123; II, nos. 68, pp. 134–135; 128, 129, p. 164; 171, pp. 193–194; 207, pp. 218–222; 210, p. 223. Philes, ed. Martini, nos. 20, 22, 23, 27, pp. 30–35; 33, pp. 37–38; 91, pp. 128–130. Cf. Kantak. ii, 4; I, p. 334, 6–9.

[77] Philes, ed. Martini, nos. 94, 95, pp. 135–136.

[78] His relationship with the Kantakouzenos family must have come through his marriage to Theodora, daughter of Eirene Kantakouzene the *sebastokratorissa* (*No. 11*). Cf. Papadopulos, no. 11. Omont, *Portraits*, p. 364; Delehaye,

No. 22

JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS (*ca.* 1295–1383), Emperor of Constantinople, 1347–1354

John was born probably about 1295. Whether or not one accepts the identification of Michael Kantakouzenos (*No. 12*) as his grandfather (died 1264), which would give 1294 as the *terminus post quem* for the death of his father and thus 1295 as the latest possible date for the birth of John himself, the evidence is clear that John was of an age with the Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos; and Andronikos is known to have been born in 1297.[1]

John inherited and employed his mother's family name of Palaiologos at least during the period of his career as Grand Domestic, though after his proclamation as Emperor in 1341 he seems deliberately to have avoided using it.[2] It seems reasonably certain that John never knew his father and was brought up as an only child by his mother Theodora. It is also clear that he was on most

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Typica, pp. 23, 145. Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* v, 27: I, p. 412, 4–5; vi, 32: I p. 512, 3–4. Pachym. *de Andron. Pal.* i, 26: II, p. 69, 10. On his career and his identification as the uncle of John VI, see Binon, *Prostagma*, pp. 151–153. Thomas Magister composed a highly rhetorical encomium of him, but it provides no hint of his family background and only the vaguest allusions to his military exploits in Illyria and Serbia. Theodulus (Thomas Magister), Προσφωνητικὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τῷ Ἀγγέλῳ, *MPG*, CXLV, 373–380. Manuel Philes also praised the deeds and lamented the death of another *megas stratopedarches*, called Raoul. He is perhaps the husband of that Helena whom Philes describes as "wife of the *megas stratopedarches*," daughter of (John) Doukas and Tornikina Komnene Raoulaina. He had a son called John and a brother called "Raoul." Philes, ed. Miller, I, no. 79, p. 252; 84, p. 261; 233, p. 435; 239, p. 437; 244, p. 439; 251, pp. 448–449. Philes, ed. Martini, no. 91, pp. 128–130.

[1] Greg. viii, 4: I, p. 301, 15: πλὴν ὁ μὲν Καντακουζηνὸς καὶ ἡλικιώτης ἦν καὶ ὁμόψυχος καὶ ὁμόπνους ἐξέτι νέου τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀνδρονίκῳ. For the date of the birth of Andronikos III, see Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* i, no. 11, p. 333, 35–37: Μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ κε΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ι΄, τοῦ ͵ϛωε΄ ἔτους ἐγεννήθη ὁ περιπόθητος υἱὸς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, ὁ κληθεὶς κῦρις Ἀνδρόνικος Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαιολόγος (i.e., 25 March 1297). Bosch, *Andronikos III*, p. 7, gives it as 1296. Cf. Greg. x, 1: I, p. 474, 11; Kantak. i, 40: I, p. 194, 12.

[2] He is designated as John Palaiologos Kantakouzenos in documents of 1332, 1333, 1334 and 1338. Guillou, *Prodrome*, no. 26, p. 93, 29, p. 94, 84; no. 32, p. 108, 6; App. IV, p. 181, 4 (*DR*, IV, nos. 2782, 2801, 2802, 2810). *MM*, III, p. 111, 2–3 (*DR*, IV, no. 2787). Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, p. 87 line 90. Cf. Dölger, *Johannes VI*, p. 196 note 7; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, p. 185 note 2. The portraits of John in Codex Parisinus graecus 1242 (see *infra*, p. 103) describe him as John Palaiologos Angelos Kantakouzenos. The name of

intimate terms with the young Andronikos Palaiologos from an early age, and that he was a prominent member of the younger generation of the aristocracy who, for whatever reasons, rose in support of Andronikos when he was disinherited by his grandfather in October 1320.[3]

At that time John seems to have held the office of *megas papias*; he was already married to Eirene Asenina (*No. 23*) and was living at Kallioupolis.[4] John describes himself as holding the rank of Grand Domestic from the very start of his memoirs in the year 1320; but this is probably not strictly true. Pseudo-Kodinos states that he was raised to this rank and dignity by the two Emperors Andronikos II and Andronikos III jointly, which may indicate that his promotion from *megas papias* to Grand Domestic did not take place until after the coronation of Andronikos III in February 1325. In April 1321 Andronikos II ordered John to proceed to the Peloponnese as governor, an order which he declined to obey on the admittedly specious pretext that it was in that office that his father had died. The Emperor thereupon appointed him governor of Thessaly instead, a post which he accepted, again on his own confession,

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Angelos he also inherited from his mother Theodora. Manuel Philes appears once to give him the name of Komnenos; Philes, ed. Miller, II, App. no. IX, p. 355, 22: ᾿Ιωάννης σοι ταῦτα πιστὸς οἰκέτης / Πορφυρόβλαστος Κομνηνὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. While the Sultan of Egypt, writing to John in October 1349, thought it correct to address him as Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos. Kantak. iv, 14: III, p. 94, 16–17.

[3] Parisot, p. 38, errs in making John Kantakouzenos the only man who refused to take the new oath of allegiance to Andronikos II in October 1320 and consequently crediting him with the title of *parakoimomenos*. The objector was the *parakoimomenos* Andronikos Kantakouzenos (*No. 42*). Kantak. i, 2: I, p. 17, 16–19. John is sometimes designated as a γαμβρός of Andronikos III. Such a relationship, in the broadest terms, may be said to have existed between them through John's marriage to Eirene Asenina Palaiologina, who was the cousin at one remove of Andronikos III. Cf. Regel, *Chrysob.*, no. 4, p. 16 (*DR*, IV, no. 2746); Petit, *Chilandari*, no. 130, p. 272; Guillou, *Prodrome*, no. 26, p. 92 (*MM*, V, p. 105) and App. I, p. 173. For the wide uses of the term γαμβρός see Binon, *Prostagma*, p. 392; cf. Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, p. 84; L. Stiernon, "Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros," *REB*, XXIII (1965), p. 223.

[4] Greg. viii, 4: I, p. 301, 7–9: . . . ᾿Ιωάννης τε ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Συναδηνὸς, ὁ μὲν τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου παπίου τηνικαῦτα σεμνυνόμενος ἐπικλήσει, ὁ δὲ τῇ τοῦ δομεστίκου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς βασιλικῆς. Kantak. i, 4: I, p. 24, 15–17: . . . Καντακουζηνὸς δ' ὁ μέγας δομέστικος τῆς πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου φερούσης εἴχετο, τὴν σύνευνον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Καλλίου πόλει· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ διέτριβε τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου.

because it gave him the chance to requisition large quantities of troops and supplies. Had he already held the office of Grand Domestic he would hardly have been thought eligible for a provincial governorship.[5]

John in fact never took up his appointment in Thessaly because only a few days later, on 16 April 1321, he left the capital for Adrianople where he was soon joined by Syrgiannes Palaiologos, Theodore

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[5] On the appointment of John as governor of the Peloponnese, see *supra*, *No. 20*, notes 50 and 52. Cf. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, p. 19 note 3. Kantak. i, 16–17: I, pp. 77–86. It is possible that John was made Grand Domestic after the end of the first phase of the civil war between the two Emperors in June 1321, or after the second settlement between them in July 1322. Ps.-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, pp. 135–136, states that he was created Grand Domestic by the two Emperors jointly and that he was at first made equal in rank with the *panhypersebastos* (i.e., Andronikos II's nephew John Palaiologos, governor of Thessalonike, who rebelled in 1325 after the coronation of Andronikos III, perhaps because of the promotion of Kantakouzenos). But when Andronikos II finally gave in, in 1328, his grandson elevated the rank of Grand Domestic above that of *panhypersebastos*. The insignia of Grand Domestic were conferred on Kantakouzenos "by the two Emperors" when they gave him the rank; *ibid.*, p. 152, 18–21... ἅτινα ἐδόθησαν καὶ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρὰ τῶν δύο βασιλέων, ὅτε μέγας δομέστικος ἐγεγόνει. Theodore Hyrtakenos wrote two letters to John as Grand Domestic, perhaps between the years 1325–1327. Theod. Hyrtakenos, *Corr.*, nos. 54, 55, pp. 17–20. Nikephoros Choumnos addressed one letter to him as such (ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* [Paris, 1844], no. 129, pp. 150–151); and from the prologue to the chrysobull of Andronikos II in his favor, composed by Theodore Metochites, it is evident that John was Grand Domestic at least before May 1328 when Metochites fell from grace (text in K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, I [Venice, 1872], pp. 193–195; cf. *DR*, IV, no. 2600). Nikephoros Choumnos died in January 1327; John must therefore have been Grand Domestic before that date. M. Treu, in Planoudes, *Epistulae*, p. 187, conjectured that Theodore Hyrtakenos died *circiter anno 1320;* but, since he composed a funeral oration for Choumnos, this is clearly mistaken. The two letters that he addressed to John as Grand Domestic refer to a military campaign across the Hellespont into Asia Minor, in which John is said to have covered himself with glory and success. It evidently took place when there were two Emperors reigning together, therefore probably during the brief joint reign of Andronikos II and Andronikos III between 1325 and 1327. Theod. Hyrtakenos, *Corr.*, no. 54, p. 18:... διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ πατῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν ... ἀπειλῶν δουλὴν τὴν Περσίδα παραστήσειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ...; *ibid.*, no. 55, p. 19: διαβάντα τὴν περαίαν, καὶ καλῶς τὸν τῆς Ἕλλης πόντον ἐναντίως Ξέρξῃ διαπεραιωθέντα...γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ μειράκια Σατράπαις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ζυγῷ δουλείας ὑποζευγνύνται τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν .... It has been claimed that John held office as *mesazon* under Andronikos III; H.-G. Beck, "Der byzantinische 'Ministerpräsident'," *BZ*, XLVIII (1955), p. 312 and note 6: "Kantakuzenos bezeichnet sich selbst als Mesazon, wenn er bei Bestellung seines Nachfolgers Apokaukos sagt: τοῦ μεσάζειν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐνεχειρίσθη, III, 15: II, 99." But the passage quoted in support of this statement (Kantak. iii, 15: II, p. 99, 9–15) clearly refers to Alexios Apokaukos and not to John Kantakouzenos.

Synadenos, and Andronikos III, who left Constantinople on the night of 19–20 April. John claims that he did all in his power to persuade the soldiers and the more militant of Andronikos III's supporters to negotiate a settlement with Andronikos II; and a settlement was in fact concluded early in June 1321, perhaps mainly as a result of the message sent by John and Andronikos III to the old Emperor in Constantinople warning him of an impending attack. On 6 June a treaty was arranged at Rhegion on the banks of the river Melas, between Selymbria and Constantinople, partly through the mediation of Eugenia Palaiologina (*No. 17*), the mother of Syrgiannes. The Empire was to be partitioned between the two Andronikoi, who were to rule as colleagues.[6]

The second phase of the civil war broke out in December 1321, precipitated in great part by the defection of Syrgiannes to the senior Emperor in Constantinople.[7] It lasted until the middle of July 1322, when a second settlement was reached at Epibatai near Selymbria, scrapping the experiment of partition. The economic plight of Andronikos III was so serious at this stage that John paid some of his mercenary troops out of his own pocket, while his mother Theodora also offered financial assistance.[8]

The part in affairs played by John in the years between 1322 and the third and final outbreak of the civil war in 1327 is none too clearly stated. He was instrumental in the defence of the Empire against Michael Šišman of Bulgaria in 1323; and his spirit in this respect was commended by Andronikos II who is said to have remarked: "If I were to die without heir I would advise the Romans to adopt this man as their Emperor." In the same year, in co-operation with Andronikos III, John defeated a Mongol army on the Marica River between Didymoteichos and Adrianople.[9]

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[6] Greg. viii; 6: I, pp. 312–321. Kantak. i, 18–23: I, pp. 88–116. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* i, p. 350. Cf. *DR*, IV, nos. 2461, 2462, 2463, 2660; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 19–25. The events of the civil war between Andronikos II and Andronikos III have been analyzed by, e.g., Parisot, pp. 29–83; Binon, *Prostagma*, p. 141 f.; Florinskij, pp. 94–102; and most recently by Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 7–52.

[7] Greg. viii, 11: I, pp. 351–352. Kantak. i, 24: I, pp. 119–125. In December 1321 the *protostrator* Theodore Synadenos gave his daughter Anna in marriage to John's brother-in-law Manuel Asen.

[8] Greg. viii, 12: I, pp. 358–359. Kantak. i, 32–34: I, pp. 152–169. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 28–34. The date of the second settlement, 17 or 18 July 1322, is provided by the Short Chronicles; Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 47, p. 80, 7; Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* i, no. 13, pp. 334, 350.

On 2 February 1325 Andronikos III was crowned Emperor in St. Sophia. It may well have been in this year that John as Grand Domestic conducted the campaign against the Turks in Asia Minor, upon the success of which Theodore Hyrtakenos so fulsomely congratulates him. It is curious that neither John himself nor Gregoras makes reference to any such campaign. But Gregoras notes the siege and capture of Brusa by the Turks in 1326, which demonstrated the ephemeral nature of John's alleged triumphs. In October 1326 Andronikos III married as his second wife Anne of Savoy; after the wedding he took her off to Didymoteichos, in company with John. They were surprised on their journey by some Turkish marauders and John, though his horse was disabled, miraculously escaped injury.[10]

John does not claim to have been present at the meeting between Andronikos III and Michael Šišman of Bulgaria at Černomen on 13 May 1327, which resulted in an offensive alliance against Andronikos II and hastened the final phase of the civil war.[11] He does, however, claim to have tried to serve as a peacemaker in October 1327, when he was staying with Andronikos III, who had then moved from Didymoteichos to Enneakosia near Rhegion. But after the failure of the protracted negotiations with representatives of the old Emperor at Rhegion in the autumn and winter of 1327, John, seconded by Theodore Synadenos, advised Andronikos III to march on Constantinople as the only solution.[12]

When Andronikos III's attempt to gain entry to the capital was thwarted he retired to Selymbria to prepare for war. John was with him throughout his campaigns in Macedonia in the winter of 1327–

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[9] Kantak. i, 38, 39: I, p. 186, 13–16; pp. 188–193. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 64–68.

[10] Greg. viii, 14: I, p. 373; viii, 15: I, pp. 383–384. Kantak. i, 40–42: I, pp. 193–208. For the two letters of Hyrtakenos, see *supra*, note 5. For the date of the capture of Brusa, 6 April 1326, see Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 52, p. 88, 5; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 341–342; Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* i, no. 16, pp. 334, 353; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 35–38, 147–148.

[11] Greg. ix, 1: I, pp. 390–392. Kantak. i, 42: I, pp. 207–208. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* i, no. 18, pp. 335, 355–356. Cf. *DR*, IV, no. 2680; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 42, 62, wrongly dating this meeting and alliance to May 1326.

[12] Kantak. i, 45: I, pp. 219–223; i, 50: I, pp. 253–254.

1328, Synadenos having been left in charge of Thrace and John's mother Theodora in command of Didymoteichos. He was with Andronikos III when he captured Thessalonike in January 1328 and when he finally succeeded in entering Constantinople on the night of 23–24 May 1328.[13]

John was instrumental in placating the Patriarch Esaias and persuading him to overlook the wrongs done to him by Andronikos II, who had put him in prison for upholding the legitimate rights of Andronikos III. He then pleaded with the young Emperor for the release of Syrgiannes Palaiologos who had also been imprisoned by Andronikos II. Syrgiannes was related to John through his mother, whom John describes as his aunt; they also shared an uncle in the person of the *megas stratopedarches* Angelos.[14] Now that the war was over John sought and obtained permission from Andronikos III to hand over some of his many official duties to Alexios Apokaukos the *parakoimomenos*, in particular his duties as imperial secretary of state, manager of the Treasury and collector of public taxes.[15]

In the spring of 1329 John accompanied the Emperor on his campaign against the Osmanlis in Bithynia and commanded the right wing of the Byzantine army at the battle at Pelekanon on 10 June 1329. Among the officers killed in the battle were Manuel Tarchaneiotes and Nikephoros Kantakouzenos (*No. 38*), both of whom John names as his nephews.[16] After the battle, in which Andronikos

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[13] Greg. ix, 4–5: I, pp. 407–411, 415–428. Kantak. i, 51–59: I, pp. 260–306. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 39–52. In a document of 1375 John, then the monk Joasaph, refers to his capture of Thessalonike with his "brother" Andronikos III "forty-seven years before" (i.e., in 1328). G. I.Theocharides, Μία διαθήκη καὶ μία δίκη βυζαντινή, Μακεδονικά, II (1962), p. 47, 91–94: καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἀπήραμεν τὴν αὐτόθι πόλιν Θεσσαλονίκην μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου, τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίτου . . . εἰσὶ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνοι τεσσαράκοντα ἑπτά. See *infra*, p. 90 and note 135 a. For the date of Andronikos' entry into Constantinople and the end of the civil war, see Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 19, pp. 39, 43; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, p. 51, note 4.

[14] Kantak. ii, 2: I, pp. 316–323; ii, 4: I, pp. 329–335. Parisot, pp. 86–88. For the *megas stratopedarches* Angelos (? John Synadenos), see *supra, No. 21a*.

[15] Kantak. ii, 5: I, pp. 337, 20–339, 16.

[16] Greg. ix, 9: I, pp. 433–436. Kantak. ii, 6–9: I, pp. 341–363. The date and circumstances of the battles of Pelekanon and Philokrene are discussed by, e.g., Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 21, pp. 39, 45–47; Parisot, pp. 98–103; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 152–158.

III was wounded, John went with the Emperor to Didymoteichos in July 1329; and there Andronikos III tried to persuade him to accept the rank of co-Emperor. Andronikos Asen, his father-in-law, Theodore Synadenos, and even the Empress Anne were brought in to lend weight to the argument by pointing out to John that he was already Emperor in all but name. But he would not yield.[17]

When in January 1330 Andronikos III fell ill at Didymoteichos he made it plain that, in the event of his death, John Kantakouzenos was to be the guardian and regent of the child shortly to be born of Anne of Savoy. John administered the oath to the senators and dignitaries of the court who, by his own account, urged him, as the supposedly dying Emperor had also urged him, to assume the purple, but in vain. He was also under great pressure to remove or to incapacitate the Emperor's uncle, the Despot Constantine Palaiologos, for fear that he would now escape and stir up civil war. But this advice he also rejected, and indeed he later claimed to have arranged Constantine's secret escape. He further maintains that it was he who prevented Andronikos III from fatalistically admitting his collapse by taking the monastic habit. For this as for other far-sighted services during the crisis of his illness the Emperor expressed his gratitude to John after his recovery.[18]

In Andronikos' none too successful campaign against John Alexander of Bulgaria in July 1331, Gregoras reports, though John is modestly reticent, that the Grand Domestic distinguished himself by his singular heroism.[19]

It was in July 1333, when he was with the Emperor in Thessalonike, that John seems first to have met Stephen Dušan of Serbia and to have struck up a friendship with him.[20] During the same summer he did his best to prevent the treacherous conduct of Syrgiannes Palaiologos and to reason the culprit into stating his own case in fair trial. But Syrgiannes escaped, made his way to Serbia, and, with the help of Serbian troops, seized control of Kastoria. John was then privy to the plot to murder Syrgiannes which was engineered and accomplished by Sphrantzes Palaiologos on 23 August 1334. At this time John was again with Andronikos III in Thessalonike, where he spent the winter of 1334 to 1335.[21] In the meantime he had been influential in securing the election of John Kalekas of Apros as Patriarch of Constantinople in February 1334.[22]

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[17] Kantak. ii, 9: I, pp. 363–370.

[18] Greg. ix, 10: I, pp. 439–440. Kantak. ii, 14–20: I, pp. 391–426; iii, 14: II, p. 91. Enveri, *Le Destan*, 1313–1315, p. 93. Other encomia of John's services to Andronikos III are given by, e.g., Greg. x, 7: I, p. 497; xii, 5: I, pp. 584–586; xiii, 3: II, pp. 644–647; xv, 2: II, p. 754 f. Cf. Thomas Magister, Προσφώνημα, p. 93; Philes, ed. Miller, I, pp. 143–184, especially lines 372 f. On the appointment of John as regent in 1330, Gregoras and Kantakouzenos are substantially in agreement; Greg. ix, 10: I, pp. 439, 25–440, 4: διέθετο δ' ἀπὸ στόματος ὀμόσαι πάντας Ῥωμαίους, σέβας ἀποδιδόναι τῇ τε συζύγῳ δεσποίνῃ (παρῆν γὰρ αὕτη ἔγκυος οὖσα καὶ ἤκουε τῶν λεγομένων) καὶ ἅμα τῷ τεχθησομένῳ παιδίῳ, ὅσα καὶ βασιλεῖ, εἰ ἄῤῥεν ἔσται· ἐπίτροπον δ' εἶναι τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον. Kantak. ii, 14: I, p. 393, 22–24: ἔπειτα δὲ ἡγεμόνα καὶ προστάτην ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον ἀφίημι ἡμῖν. Cf. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 177–181.

[19] Greg. x, 4: I, p. 486, 12–19. Cf. Kantak. ii, 27: I, pp. 464–470. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 79–80.

In May 1335 John went with the Emperor's expedition to recover Phokaia and Mytilene from the Genoese, and employed his diplomatic talents to persuade Umur and Saruchan, the Emirs of Smyrna and Magnesia, to lend their support and also to secure the help of a Genoese friend to induce the garrison of Phokaia to surrender. Mytilene held out for some time but finally capitulated to Alexios Philanthropenos in the winter of 1336 to 1337.[23]

John played a significant part in Andronikos III's triumphant pacification of the Albanians of Berat and Kanina in the spring of 1338 and in the subsequent peaceful recovery for the Empire of Akarnania and the Despotate of Epiros. One of the main clauses in the first treaty drawn up between Andronikos III and Anna the *basilissa* of Epiros, widow of the Despot John II Doukas Orsini, was that her son and heir Nikephoros, then a minor, should be

[20] Kantak. ii, 28: I, p. 475, 23–25.

[21] Greg. x, 7: I, pp. 497–501. Kantak. ii, 22–25: I, pp. 436–458. Cf. Parisot, pp. 122–125; Binon, *Prostagma*, pp. 383–387; Loenertz, *Chron. Thessalon.*, no. 1, p. 174; Loenertz, *Ordre et désordre*, pp. 230–231.

[22] Kantak. ii, 21: I, pp. 431, 20–435, 20. The Patriarch Esaias died on 13 May 1332; there was then a vacancy of nearly two years before the election of John Kalekas in February 1334. Cf. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, nos. 26, 28, pp. 40, 41, 50–52, 54–55.

[23] Greg. xi, 1: I, pp. 525–529. Kantak. ii, 29–31: I, pp. 476–495. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 29, pp. 41, 55–56. Cf. Parisot, pp. 131–133; Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 108–111; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 129–132. Thomas Magister, Προσφώνημα, p.93, 20–21, may be alluding to John's expeditions to Macedonia and Asia Minor in his address to the Grand Domestic.

affianced to one of John's three daughters. The arrangement was duly honored.[24]

The escape of the young Nikephoros to Taranto in 1338 and his return to Akarnania at the instigation of the anti-Byzantine faction necessitated the second campaign against Epiros of Andronikos III in 1339–1340; and on this occasion the situation was saved mainly by the diplomacy and eloquence of John, who talked the rebels into surrender. He gives a long and circumstantial account of these operations, in which there can be no doubt that he played a leading part and earned the gratitude of his Emperor. Nikephoros, the heir to the Despotate, was eventually persuaded to capitulate in November 1340 on the promise of John's daughter Maria in marriage. The Emperor then honored him with the title of *panhypersebastos*.[25]

John was present at the council in St. Sophia which condemned Barlaam on 10 June 1341. The council was presided over by Andronikos III and the Patriarch John Kalekas, but the Grand Domestic seems to have acted in an advisory capacity, since he claims to have counselled the assembled monks and followers of Palamas to deal charitably with the offender and acquit him.[26] John presided over the second council in August 1341, at which Gregory Akindynos was condemned and a Tomos was drafted.[27]

[24] Greg. xi, 6: I, pp. 544–545. Kantak. ii, 32–33: I, pp. 495–504. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 30, pp. 41, 56–58. Parisot, pp. 133–138; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, p. 136.

[25] Greg. xi, 6–7: I, p. 546; xi, 8–9: I, pp. 550–554. Kantak. ii, 33: I, pp. 503–504; ii, 34–37: I, pp. 509–534. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 30, p. 41, 110–112: καὶ ἔδωκε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ [τοῦ κόντου] γαμβρὸν τὸν μέγα δομέστικον τὸν Καντακουζηνόν, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν πανυπερσέβαστον. Parisot, pp. 138–142; Bosch, *Andronikos III*, pp. 136–138. Cf. Thomas Magister, Προσφώνημα, p. 94, 5–9: διαφερόντως γε μὴν θαυμάζουσι μὲν Ἰλλυρίοι, κροτοῦσι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, ἐκπλήττονται δὲ Ἠπειρῶται, Ἀμπρακία δὲ μέγα βοᾷ, Ναυπάκτῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ τὸν σῦν δεξαμένῃ γῇ Μελέαγρος μὲν καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ διηγήματα πρᾶγμα οὐδέν....

[26] Greg. xi, 10: I, pp. 557–559. Kantak. ii, 40: I, pp. 551–556, 3. Kantak. *Prooemium Tomi*, 698 C-D. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 31, pp. 41, 58–59. Cf. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 82–84; Meyendorff, *Tome synodal de 1347*, p. 213, 72–86. Kantak. *Lettre inédite*, ed. Darrouzès, p. 15, 25–26, alone gives the number of bishops (thirty-six) who attended this council.

[27] Kantak. ii, 40: I, pp. 556, 3–557, 10. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 86–88; Meyendorff, *Tome synodal de 1347*, p. 214, 97–106: Καὶ πάλιν σύνοδος ἱερὰ τῆς προτέρας ἐκείνης κατ' οὐδὲν μείων, τοῦ μὲν μακαρίτου βασιλέως αὐτῆς ἀπόντος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπῆν, ἀντ' ἐκείνου δὲ παρόντος καὶ προλάμποντος τῇ συνόδῳ ... τοῦ καὶ ζῶντος τοῦ βασιλέως ... τὰ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλοφυῶς διέποντος πράγματα, νῦν δὲ Θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀξίαν ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ Ῥωμαίων περικειμένου καὶ συμβασιλεύοντος τῷ υἱῷ ....

It was after the first of these two councils that the Emperor Andronikos III was taken ill. He died on the night of 14–15 June 1341.[28] Neither John himself nor Gregoras mentions any formal act or declaration of the dying Emperor appointing John Kantakouzenos regent of the Empire. John appears to have rested his claim to be protector of the widowed Empress Anne and her children and to act as administrator of the Empire on the facts that such a declaration had been made by the Emperor when he was mortally ill in 1330; that he had more than once refused the invitation to become co-Emperor with Andronikos; and that he was, to all intents and purposes, in charge of affairs. Independent witness to the sincerity of John's feelings in this matter is provided by the anonymous chronicle of 1352.[29]

In the days immediately following the death of Andronikos III John saw to the protection of the Empress and her family, took control of the situation and organized the late Emperor's funeral at his own expense. He repudiated the suggestion put to him by Alexios Apokaukos that he should at least assume the rank of co-Emperor with the young John Palaiologos. But gradually the opposition to him crystallized round the person of the Patriarch, who felt that he had no less of a claim to be regent and guardian of the heir-presumptive. The Patriarch based his claim on the fact that Andronikos III had appointed him regent together with the Empress Anne at the time when he left Constantinople to contend with the revolt of Syrgiannes in 1334, when the Grand Domestic was also absent from the city. The situation was enflamed by a division of opinion over the policy to be adopted toward John Alexander of Bulgaria, who thought to profit from the Emperor's death by demanding the extradition from asylum on Byzantine territory of his rival Michael Šišman. According to his own account John offered to resign from his position as Grand Domestic and to retire from public life altogether rather than be the cause of disruption in the Empire. But he was restrained from so doing after a lengthy exchange of views with the Empress and the Patriarch. According to Gregoras an agreement was ultimately reached, despite the machinations of Apokaukos, between John, the Empress, and the Patriarch.[30]

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[28] Kantak. ii, 40: I, p. 557, 10-p. 560. Kantakouzenos appears to place Andronikos III's death after the second council, but this must be a lapse of memory. He himself and Gregoras both date the Emperor's death exactly to 15 June 1341. Kantak. ii, 40: I, p. 560, 15–18; Greg. xi, 11: I, p. 560, 2–3. The date is confirmed by Kantak. *Prooemium Tomi*, 698D–699A, by Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 32, pp. 41, 59–60, by Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no, 52, p. 88, 8–9 (Charanis, *Chron.*, p. 344), and by the Short Chronicle in Cod. Vat. gr. 778, fol. 1^r, printed in part by R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III (Vatican City, 1950), p. 296: ἔτους ,ϛωμ′ [*leg.* ,ϛωμθ′] ἰνδ. θ′ μηνὶ ἰουνίω ιδ′.

[29] Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 32, p. 41, 121–122 (recording the death and burial of Andronikos III in June 1341): τὸν δὲ μέγαν δομέστικον τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν ἐποίησεν ἐγκρατῆν πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων (cf. p. 60). Cf. Parisot, p. 161. Kantak. iii, 4: II, p. 35, 20-p. 36, 3, makes the Empress quote what are supposed to have been the dying wishes of her husband: σὲ δὲ χρὴ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἐμοῦ μὴ ἀπελθόντος [*sic*] λογισμοῖς τισιν ἢ καὶ λόγοις ἐνίων ἀπατηθεῖσα, ἑτέρῳ τινι πρόσχῃς τὸν ἄνδρα τουτονὶ διωσαμένη. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο συμβαίη, οὐδὲν ἔτι τὸ λεῖπον σέ τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἀπολέσθαι· αὐτῷ δὲ προσέχουσα, ἄριστα σαυτῇ τε καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι βουλεύσῃ. But even here there is no mention of an official act of regency. Doukas, writing long after the event, seems to be alone in giving John the official title of *epitropos*, in the speech that he puts into John's mouth; Doukas x, 3: p. 61, 14–17 (Grecu): Ἐπίτροπός εἰμι τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων παρὰ τοῦ ἀποιχομένου βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου. Ὁ νέος αὐτὸς καὶ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας ἐμός ἐστι βασιλεὺς καὶ υἱὸς κατὰ θέσιν· οὕτως γάρ μοι ἀνέθηκεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. On the account of Enveri, *Le Destan*, 1311–1326, p. 93, which is evidently derived from a "Cantacuzenist" source, see Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 145–146. Cf. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, p. 181: "Wenn Andronikos III. wirklich jeden Wunsch gehabt hatte, Johannes Kantakuzenos zum Mitkaiser oder zum Nachfolger zu ernennen – was er beides nicht getan hat—, dann war es 1330, danach aber nicht mehr."

John dealt with the Bulgarian ambassadors himself and then put the army in a state of preparedness by seeing to the arrears of their pay, with the generous help of the millionaire Patrikios. His suggestion that the young John Palaiologos should now be crowned Emperor was vetoed by Alexios Apokaukos; and John left for Didymoteichos with his army in July 1341 to take personal charge of the Thracian frontier. John Alexander of Bulgaria was thus chastened into renewing his treaty with Byzantium and withdrew his troops to Trnovo. At the same time John defeated an attempt by the Turks of Pergamon to land soldiers on the Thracian Chersonnese, and thwarted the purpose of an expedition commanded by Umur, persuading him to sail his ships up to the mouth of the Danube to help frighten the Bulgarians into submission. Meanwhile Apokaukos was availing himself of John's absence from Constantinople and of his new position as commander of the Byzantine fleet against the Turks to plot the kidnap and removal of John Palaiologos. The plot misfired, however, and Apokaukos retreated to his castle at Epibatai, where John soon saw to it that he was held under guard.[31]

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[30] Kantak. iii, 3–6: II, pp. 25–52. Greg. xii, 2–4: II, pp. 576–586. As Parisot, p. 167, observes, the truth of John's pretended resignation lies buried in the verbosity of the three main actors in the drama. Greg. xii, 5: II, p. 586, 16–18, relates that the army swore to defend the life and the faith of the Emperors, to which they added the name of Kantakouzenos as *epitropos* of the Empire: . . . ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ πίστεως ὀμνύειν τῶν βασιλέων, αὐτοὶ καὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτρόπου Καντακουζηνοῦ προσετίθεσαν τοὔνομα.

While he was in Didymoteichos John received ambassadors from the Peloponnese offering terms of surrender to Byzantium. But at the same moment Stephen Dušan had chosen his opportunity to invade Macedonia; and John was torn between taking reprisals against Dušan and seizing the chance to restore Byzantine rule in the Peloponnese. In the end he patched up a treaty with Dušan and returned to Constantinople in September 1341 to prepare his army for a western campaign.[32]

In the capital he discussed affairs of state with the Empress. During one of their conferences there was a demonstration in John's favor outside the palace, apparently provoked by the soldiers and some of the younger set among the aristocracy. The Patriarch proved unable to restore order and John himself had to come out to calm and disperse the mob.[33] Among the subjects which he discussed with the Empress was the problem of what to do with Alexios Apokaukos. John finally agreed to pardon him for his misdeeds and give him yet another chance. John then left Constantinople for the West on 23 September 1341, having urged the Patriarch to be mindful of his obligations and to preserve order in the capital. Just before leaving he was asked by the Empress to consider giving one of his daughters in marriage to the young Emperor John Palaiologos; but for the moment he declined to accept the proposal. On his way to Didymoteichos John stopped for one or two days at Epibatai to receive the apologies and submission of Apokaukos.[34]

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[31] Kantak. iii, 7–10: II, pp. 52–74. Greg. xii, 7: II, pp. 596–598. On Patrikios or Patrikiotes, see Parisot, pp. 171 and note 4, 184; A. Heisenberg, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit* (*Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-philol.-hist. Klasse, Abh. X [Munich, 1920]), pp. 74 f.; G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), pp. 101 f.; I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and his Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, VI (Belgrade, 1960), pp. 190–191. For the chronology see Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, nos. 33, 34, pp. 41–42, 60–61. The Turkish campaigns are described by Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 136–143.

[32] Kantak. iii, 11, 12: II, pp. 74–77, 79–83. Greg. xii, 6: II, p. 596, speaks also of approaches being made to John by the Akarnanians and Thessalians. *DR*, IV, no. 2685, dates the treaty with Dušan to "before October 26, 1341"; but cf. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, pp. 61–62.

[33] Kantak. iii, 13: II, pp. 83–87. Greg. xii, 5: II, p. 586. Cf. Parisot, pp. 169–170.

No sooner was he gone, however, than Apokaukos began to intrigue behind his back. Among those whom Apokaukos convinced and lured into the opposition camp were Andronikos Asen, John's father-in-law, Constantine and Isaac Asen, the brothers of Andronikos, John Gabalas (Raoul) the Grand Logothete, George Choumnos the *megas stratopedarches*, Artotos (?Odoardo) the son of Isabella (Zampea), one of the Italian ladies-in-waiting of Anne of Savoy, and Manuel Kantakouzenos Strategopoulos (*No. 36*). The Empress Anne was taken in by tales of John's plotting against her and her son; the Patriarch openly adopted the position and the title of regent; while Apokaukos (in the words of Gregoras) followed the example of Octavian Caesar by delegating the administration of the Empire to the senate and the nobles and securing for himself the supreme military command. The Patriarch and Apokaukos joined in inciting the city mob against the family and supporters of John, a number of whom fled to his camp at Didymoteichos. Others, such as John's mother Theodora and his youngest son Andronikos (*No. 26*) as well as his daughter-in-law Eirene, wife of his eldest son Matthew (*No. 24*), were put under house arrest. Orders were sent out from Constantinople for John to renounce his rank and send his army home. In these circumstances, having vainly tried to negotiate through intermediaries and having offered even to come to Constantinople to stand trial, John reluctantly yielded to the persuasions of his supporters and allowed himself to be proclaimed Emperor at Didymoteichos. The proclamation was made on 26 October 1341, the Feast of St. Demetrios.[35]

John was scrupulously careful to see that the names of himself as Emperor and of his wife as Empress came after those of Anne the Empress and her son John Palaiologos in the act of proclamation, thus manifesting his respect for the rights of the legitimate successor. But it is also on this occasion that John first describes himself as the "brother" of the late Andronikos III, thus emphasising his own claim to a special relationship with the reigning Emperor.[36]

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[34] Kantak. iii, 14–16: II, pp. 87–105. Greg. xii, 8–9: II, pp. 599–605. The marriage proposal is mentioned by Kantak. iii, 16: II, p. 104, 3–14, and also by Doukas v, 2: pp. 41–42 (Grecu).

[35] Kantak. iii, 16–27: II, pp. 105–166. Greg. xi, 9–12: II, pp. 605–612. Doukas v, 4: p. 44; vi, 2: p. 49 (Grecu). Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 35, pp. 42, 62.

John now organized his army for a march on Constantinople, appointing his cousin John Angelos the *pinkernes* and his brother-in-law Manuel Asen as generals to advance to the river Melas while he went by way of Perinthos and Selymbria. His action provoked revolution in Adrianople and then elsewhere, in which his partisans were harshly treated. The demos in Adrianople invoked the aid of John Alexander of Bulgaria, which assisted the spread of the revolt; and some of John's generals at the river Melas, hearing the news, deserted to Constantinople, among them John Batatzes. But John Alexander, his army partly defeated by John Angelos, elected to come to terms with the new situation and a treaty was arranged.[37] John continued to hope that the matter could be settled without war and again sent ambassadors to the Empress in Constantinople with offers of peace. But they were arrested and ill-treated; and, as a result of the political unrest in Thrace, the vast properties of the Kantakouzenos family there were sequestered and divided. John gives a most revealing estimate of the extent of his family's wealth in terms of heads of cattle, livestock and cornland.[38]

During the winter of 1341–1342 John stayed in Didymoteichos, unable to take much military action owing to the steady snow and rain. His attempt to recover Adrianople by a trick proved a failure. But his enemies, led by his father-in-law Andronikos Asen, made the most of the circumstances, as did also the Turks storming across from Asia Minor. Meanwhile in Constantinople, a propaganda campaign against John was launched. The Patriarch John Kalekas excommunicated him and a vicious persecution of his relatives in the city, especially his mother Theodora (*No. 21*), was redoubled by Apokaukos as Grand Duke, after the coronation of John V Palaiologos on 19 November 1341. John vainly tried to stem the tide by secret negotiations with the Empress.[39]

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[36] Kantak. iii, 27: II, pp. 166–167; p. 167, 11–12: . . . ἀναγκαῖον πάλιν τὴν ἀδελφοῦ καὶ βασιλέως τελευτὴν πενθεῖν. Greg. xii, 12: II, pp. 611–612. Cf. Dölger, *Johannes VI*, p. 199.

[37] Kantak. iii, 28–29: II, pp. 173–182. Greg. xii, 14: II, pp. 620–622. On the career of John Batatzes, see *infra*, and Greg. xiv, 11: II, pp. 741–743; Lemerle, *Philippes*, pp. 236–237. On John Angelos, see *infra*, *No. 37*.

[38] Kantak. iii, 29–30: II, pp. 183–185. Greg. xii, 14: II, p. 620.

The attempt that John made to justify his actions to the governors of Thessaly, Thessalonike, and Serres, Michael Monomachos, Theodore Synadenos the *protostrator*, and Guy of Lusignan, proved worse than useless. Guy retorted by appropriating the remains of the Kantakouzenos property in the Serres district and by breaking off his daughter's engagement to John's second son Manuel (*No. 25*).[40] In the course of the winter, however, Synadenos changed his mind and made a secret offer to hand over the city of Thessalonike. The Serbian boyar Chreles (Stefan Hrelja) likewise offered his services. John consulted the advice of his officers and on 5 March 1342 set out from Didymoteichos for Thessalonike. He left a garrison in Didymoteichos under the command of his wife Eirene and his brother-in-law Manuel Asen, together with his three daughters and the young Nikephoros, fiancé of his daughter Maria (*No. 27*). He took with him his sons Matthew and Manuel, his brother-in-law John Asen and his cousin John Angelos the *pinkernes*.[41]

Marching down the Marica valley John first attacked the city of Bera, but the attempt was thwarted by John Batatzes who brought up an army from Constantinople. John therefore continued his march westward and laid siege to the fortress of Peritheorion (Anastasioupolis). From here he tried once again to make contact with the Empress Anne and the Patriarch, but in vain; and he then wrote to the leading monks on Mount Athos begging them to exert their influence for peace in Constantinople. His appeal prompted the Protos Isaac and Makarios, abbot of the Great Lavra, to lead a delegation to the Empress; but nothing came of it. Isaac found himself virtually a prisoner, and Makarios was lured into the enemy camp by being elevated to the see of Thessalonike. Meanwhile Peritheorion all but fell to John's army after he had offered an amnesty to the inhabitants. The offer was made in the form of an imperial writ (γράμμασι βασιλικοῖς) and would probably have been accepted had not the citizens been persuaded, by a traitor in John's own camp, to hold out in the knowledge that the army was urgently pressing on to Thessalonike.[42]

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[39] Kantak. iii, 30: II, pp. 185–190; iii, 33–34: II, pp. 199–208; iii, 36: II, pp. 218–223. Cf. Loenertz, *Chron. Mosqu.* ii, no. 36, pp. 42, 63.

[40] Kantak. iii, 31: II, pp. 190–193. Greg. xii, 15: II, p. 623. Guy of Lusignan had earlier been married to a cousin of John, Na Kantakouzene (*No. 33*).

[41] Kantak. iii, 32: II, pp. 193–196. Greg. xii, 15: II, p. 626. Other commanders of the garrison in Didymoteichos were Manuel Tarchaneiotes, a relative of John, and George Phakrases. Greg. xii, 15: II, p. 627. On Chreles (Stefan Hrelja), see M. Dinić, in *Zbornik Radova,* IX (1966), pp. 95–118.

John therefore continued his journey west, sending secret messages ahead to Synadenos announcing his imminent arrival at Thessalonike. At Philippi, where he encamped, a reply came from Synadenos to the effect that John should delay his further advance until Chreles had joined forces with him. John then got in touch with Chreles, who declared that he could not come until he had mastered the fortress of Melnik. To expedite matters John sent some of his own men to occupy Melnik, where he had friends, and put his brother-in-law John Asen in charge there as governor before going to get Chreles and bring him to his own camp.[43]

While these events were taking place, however, at the beginning of the summer of 1342, the Zealot revolution broke out in Thessalonike; Theodore Synadenos was driven out of the city, though he retained control of the surrounding area with a force of one thousand refugees based on Gynaikokastron. Still hopeful of saving the situation he urged John to advance now with all speed to recover Thessalonike; and John hurried westward across Chalkidike, accepting the surrender of Rentina (one day's journey from Thessalonike) on his way. He encamped at Langada outside the city and then joined forces with Synadenos at the river Galykos.[44]

But by that time an army from Constantinople, joined by Guy of Lusignan from Serres and Monomachos from Thessaly, was on its way west. The news persuaded John to abandon hope of entering Thessalonike and to make instead for Berroia and Edessa, from which he could make contact with his friends in Thessaly, Akarnania, and Epiros. This decision led to a fatal dissension in his camp, intensified when it was reported that Alexios Apokaukos had arrived at Thessalonike with a fleet of seventy ships. Synadenos himself promptly changed sides and accepted the pardon offered to him by Apokaukos. About a hundred others deserted; and John, having vainly tried to lead the remnant of his army across the Vardar, then swollen by a cloudburst higher up the valley, made his camp at Gynaikokastron and gave his men the option of going over to the enemy or staying with him. To those who stayed, about 2000 in number, he now declared his intention of heading north for Serbia to seek the help of Stephen Dušan to make their way back to Didymoteichos.[45]

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[42] Kantak. iii, 32, 33: II, pp. 196–201; iii, 34–35: II, pp. 208–218. Greg. xii, 14: II, p. 620, recalls what may have been an earlier attempt on John's part to employ Athonite monks as intermediaries. On the locality of Bera (Βηρά, Βηρός), see Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, p. 65 note 3.

[43] Kantak. iii, 37–38: II, pp. 225–233. Greg. xiii, 1: II, pp. 631–632.

[44] Kantak. iii, 38: II, pp. 233–237. Greg. xiii, 1: II, pp. 632–634. Cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, pp. 196–197.

Messengers were sent ahead to Dušan and John began the march north by way of Prosek, John Angelos leading the army and John bringing up the rear. They managed to shake off the troops sent out from Thessalonike to harrass them.[46] From Prosek, where he had a friend, John crossed the Vardar and made for Skopia. Near Veles (Velessos) he fell in with John Oliver, the Serbian Voivode of Ovčepolje, whose acquaintance he had made earlier in his career. Oliver entertained him for three days and offered to go ahead to Dušan to exert his influence on John's behalf. Due to Oliver's good offices Dušan and his wife Helena, who were on their way to visit her brother John Alexander in Bulgaria, broke their journey and came south to meet John at Priština (Pristinos) north of Skopia. Dušan there entertained John with the greatest civility and honor for several days. There was some discussion about the appropriate terms, for Dušan tried to demand the cession of all Macedonia west of Christoupolis as a reward for his help; but a treaty of alliance was concluded in July 1342. Dušan promised, among other things, to assist John by every means against their common enemies in Constantinople. To cement his alliance John offered to give his younger son Manuel in betrothal to the daughter of John Oliver.

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[45] Kantak. iii, 39–41: II, pp. 237–253. Greg. xiii, 1–2: II, pp. 634–636. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 37, pp. 336, 340–342.

[46] The messengers sent to Dušan were Constantine Palaiologos the *sebastokrator* and Arsenios Tzamplakon. They were intercepted and taken to Thessalonike. Kantak. iii, 42: II, pp. 256–257.

By the end of the summer John was ready to set out for Didymoteichos with an army augmented by a contingent of Serbian officers and men.[47]

John contrived to send a messenger ahead to Didymoteichos to inform his wife and Manuel Asen of all that had occurred and to reassure them that he was on his way to rejoin them. But he got no further east than Serres. Guy of Lusignan had now departed for Armenia and there was a hope that the inhabitants might surrender. John spent three days fruitlessly trying to persuade them to do so; and during those days his army was stricken by an epidemic which carried off several of its leaders and more than 1500 of the soldiers. This disaster, combined with the news that Apokaukos had sent a fleet to Christoupolis and an army by land to block the pass through to Didymoteichos, caused further disturbance in John's camp and further desertions, especially among the Serbian contingent who voted to go back home. John therefore suggested that they should all retrace their steps to Serbia and regroup before making a second attempt to return to Didymoteichos. Most of the army, who had come to regard Serbia as the end of the world, thereupon deserted and made for Christoupolis, leaving John with not many more than 500 men. With this small band he marched back to Serbia by way of Edessa.[48]

The Empress Anne of Savoy twice sent envoys from Constantinople to Stephen Dušan to offer him attractive terms if he would surrender John to her. But Dušan was not to be seduced; and John was given the opportunity to defend himself against the charges made by one of the envoys, Makarios, now Metropolitan of Thessalonike.[49] At the same time a deputation arrived from Thessaly, whose landed gentry had always been favorable to the cause of the Kantakouzenos family. Their late governor Michael Monomachos had been removed to Thessalonike and they now invited John to come and rule over the province. John replied by appointing his loyal cousin John Angelos the *pinkernes* as *kephale* of Thessaly for his lifetime. The appointment was made official by the issue of an imperial chrysobull to this effect; and Angelos was sent to govern Thessaly.[50]

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[47] Kantak. iii, 42–45: II, pp. 257–277; iii, 48: II, pp. 290–292. Greg. xiii, 2: II, pp. 636–640. Doukas vi, 3–5: pp. 50–51 (Grecu). Chreles, whom Dušan agreed should be recognized as a vassal of John, preferred to offer himself with the fortress of Melnik to Dušan, an arrangement with which John had reluctantly to concur. Kantak. iii, 45: II, pp. 274–276. Cf. Parisot, pp. 180–183. On John Oliver (Liberos), see the references cited under Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 25*) *infra*.

[48] Kantak. iii, 48, 49: II, pp. 286–287, 292–296, 301. Greg. xiii, 3: II, p. 647, who says that John stayed barely thirty days with Dušan.

[49] Kantak. iii, 52: II, pp. 305–309.

Toward the end of 1342 John hopefully set out from Serbia for a second time. His wife in Didymoteichos had sent Manuel Tarchaneiotes to discover what was afoot. Stephen Dušan accompanied his guest as far as Serres, whose citizens still refused to surrender; and from there John took the road east to Didymoteichos. Before he had gone far, however, his Serbian troops began to desert; and once again John decided to return to Serbia. The reluctance of his remaining soldiers to accept this decision was overcome by the news that a large enemy concentration was lying in wait for them at Peritheorion; while Apokaukos and his seventy ships were cruising off Amphipolis. Thus John returned to the safety of Serbia for a second time and joined forces with Dušan at Strumica.[51]

Those in Didymoteichos were meanwhile becoming desperate, and John's wife of her own accord sought the support of John Alexander of Bulgaria. He was to prove an embarrassing ally. John himself, however, had contrived to get in touch with his Turkish friend Umur, the Seljuq emir of Aydin, who brought over a fleet of 380 ships and 29,000 soldiers to the mouth of the Marica River. From there Umur announced his presence to Eirene and shortly arrived in Didymoteichos in person, scaring away the Bulgarian troops who seemed to have come to stay; and leaving a garrison to reinforce the city's defenses, Umur set out west to meet John. Unfortunately his resolve in this respect was weakened by the unusual severity of the winter which killed off many of his men; and Umur withdrew to Asia Minor as rapidly as he had come.[52]

[50] Kantak. iii, 53: II, pp. 309–322. Greg. xiii, 6: II, pp. 656–658, who appears to date the appointment of John Angelos after the surrender of Berroia, in spring 1343. On John Angelos, see *infra, No. 37*.

[51] Kantak. iii, 54, 55: II, pp. 322–323, 328–335. Greg. xiii, 5: II, pp. 653–654.

[52] Kantak. iii, 56–57: II, pp. 336–348. Greg. xiii, 4: II, pp. 648–653. Doukas vii, 1–2: pp. 51–53 (Grecu). Enveri, *Le Destan*, 1327–1400, pp. 93–96. Cf. Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 150–151, 160–164.

In April 1343 John again prepared to leave Serbia for Didymoteichos. His fortunes appeared to change with the unexpected submission to him of the city of Berroia. This was followed by the voluntary surrender of Servia, Platamona, and other places on the northern border of Thessaly. Dušan lent him a force of German mercenaries with which to take over Berroia, which he placed under the command of his second son Manuel; and John's army was now augmented by detachments from the places in southern Macedonia that had come over to him. Encouraged by these events, John summoned his cousin John Angelos to bring his cavalry from Thessaly to make another attempt on Thessalonike, and pitched his camp once again at the Galykos River.[53]

Dušan, however, now began to regret his earlier generosity and incited Michael Monomachos, the governor of Thessalonike, to attack John. Meanwhile Apokaukos, with thirty-two Turkish ships now added to his Greek fleet of seventy, arrived again at Thessalonike; and an army from Constantinople was reported to be on its way. John therefore withdrew, fought his way across the Vardar against the opposition of a Serbian force and made his way back to Berroia.[54]

While he was there Apokaukos sent him a message offering to negotiate a settlement if John would surrender. The offer was rudely rejected. Apokaukos also sent inflammatory messages to Dušan who, having failed to lure John into a trap, now formally broke his treaty with him and openly declared war. Apokaukos then tried to have John assassinated. When this failed Monomachos persuaded Apokaukos to let him lead an army against Berroia. John was surrounded by enemies, but he gave a spirited reply to the envoy of Apokaukos who came to accept his submission. The Turkish mercenaries of Monomachos devastated the area around Berroia; Pydna surrendered to the enemy with all its garrison; Platamona defected. In despair John sent for help to his friend Umur, and before long Umur was on his way from Smyrna with nearly 200 ships. They were becalmed at Euboia for some days but eventually reached the harbour of Klopas near Thessalonike, only to find that Apokaukos had sailed off back to Constantinople with his fleet for fear of being blockaded.[55]

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[53] Kantak. iii, 57–58: II, pp. 349–355. Greg. xiii, 5: II, pp. 654–656; xiii, 7: II, p. 658. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 40, pp. 337, 352–353. Gregoras believed that John's departure for Berroia was an act of deceit and ingratitude to Dušan. Later, in the summer of 1345, Demetrios Kydones wrote two letters to John from Berroia where he was in the service of Manuel Kantakouzenos. One extols John's capture of the city. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, nos. 6, 7, pp. 31–32, 32–34; cf. R.-J. Loenertz, "Note sur une lettre de Démétrius Cydonès à Jean Cantacuzène," *BZ*, XLIV (1951), pp. 405–408.

[54] Kantak. iii, 58–59: II, pp. 357–362. Greg. xiii, 7: II, pp. 658–660, who gives the strength of Apokaukos' fleet as fifty Greek and twenty-two Turkish ships.

From there Umur dispatched fifty ships to Pydna to land a party of troops to go to the relief of Berroia. John then left Berroia in charge of his son Manuel so that he could join forces with Umur at Thessalonike; and they encamped together for seven days not far from the city. But it soon became clear that with the Zealots in control and terrorizing John's friends and potential supporters nothing was likely to be achieved there. John therefore again abandoned hope of taking Thessalonike and set out for Thrace with Umur, sending the fleet and most of the army forward to lay siege to Peritheorion. Abdera surrendered to John while he was on the way east. He also sent a further embassy to the Empress in Constantinople to treat for peace, but to no avail. One Mouzalon was meanwhile sent ahead to Didymoteichos to announce John's arrival; and he and Umur reached Peritheorion. During the siege of this city the fortresses in the hills of Merope went over to John, and he appointed the Bulgarian adventurer Hajduk Momčilo, who had recently deserted the service of Dušan, as governor of the area.[56]

In the event the siege of Peritheorion had to be raised and the whole of the Turkish fleet sent home to Smyrna. But John and Umur with an army of 6000 Turks at last got through to Didymoteichos. The district of Morra west of the Marica valley surrendered to John, who entrusted its defence to his brother-in-law John Asen; but the cities of Thrace, because of their unwillingness to co-operate, were

[55] Kantak. iii, 59–63: II, pp. 362–390. Greg. xiii, 8: II, pp. 661–666; xiii, 9: II, pp. 669–671. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 41, pp. 337, 354–355. Enveri, *Le Destan*, 1401–1422, p. 96.

[56] Kantak. iii, 64–65: II, pp. 390–403. Greg. xiii, 10: II, pp. 673, 676–677; xiv, 1: II, p. 692. Enveri, *Le Destan*, 1423–1608, pp. 96–102. Cf. Parisot, pp. 188–194; Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 152–153, 164–167. On Momčilo, see St. Kyriakides, Ὁ Μομτζίλος καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ (Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, VII), Μακεδονικά, II (1941–1952), pp. 332–345.

treated to the depredations of John's Turkish allies. At the beginning of spring 1344, however, the Turkish army, bribed (if John is to be believed) by those in Constantinople, and against the will of Umur himself, elected to return home, their transport by sea being arranged by Apokaukos; thus, John was left to his own devices, though Umur was as good as his word and sent some reinforcements across within two weeks. John appointed his eldest son Matthew to take command of Komotine (Koumoutzena) and other fortresses in the area that now came over to him.[57]

When Umur had gone both Dušan and John Alexander of Bulgaria resumed hostilities, while in the middle of May Apokaukos advanced from Constantinople to Herakleia in Thrace and successfully subverted Momčilo, John's governor of Merope. John sent ambassadors to Alexander of Bulgaria to dissuade him from his aggressive purposes, and himself made for that part of Thrace then known as Chalkidike to lay siege to Gratianoupolis. Dušan withdrew from the conflict after his general Gregory Preljub had been beaten by a Turkish force. The same Turks, 3100 in number, then offered their services to John who gratefully took them on, providentially finding the money with which to pay them from the wealth of Gratianoupolis which almost simultaneously, in May 1344, surrendered to him. Matthew Kantakouzenos was then installed as governor of Gratianoupolis as well as Komotine and the surrounding area of Thracian Chalkidike.[58]

These victories induced John Alexander of Bulgaria to withdraw the troops that he had sent to invade Morra and to sign a truce; and John was now encouraged to attack Apokaukos who was still at Herakleia with the young John V Palaiologos in his camp. From there John returned to Didymoteichos; but before reaching it he became involved in fighting with Momčilo and had to beat a retreat to Komotine, losing his horse on the way. The Empress Anne rewarded Momčilo for this service by granting him the title of Despot. John in turn pardoned him and gave him the title of *sebastokrator*.[59]

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[57] Kantak. iii, 66–68: II, pp. 403–420. Greg. xiv, 1: II, pp. 692–694; xiv, 4: II, p. 703. Doukas vii, 2: p. 54 (Grecu). John had a narrow escape when ambushed by a raiding party of a thousand Turks between Komotine and Trajanoupolis. Enveri, *Le Destan*, 1648–1866, pp. 103–109. Cf. Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 156–157, 176–179. For John's alleged offer of a daughter in marriage to Umur, the story of which is retailed at length by Enveri, see under Theodora Kantakouzene (*No. 29*) *infra*.

[58] Kantak. iii, 68–69: II, pp. 420–427. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 42, pp. 337, 355–356. Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 188, 205 note 1. On the locality of the Thracian Chalkidike, see *ibid.*, p. 170 note 6.

John's Turkish mercenaries had now left for Asia Minor and Apokaukos was emboldened to prepare an attack on Didymoteichos. John, being apprised of his enemy's intention, left Matthew with an army in Chalkidike and John Asen in Morra and took the rest of his troops north to protect his base. Apokaukos, who was then engaged in besieging Empythion (Pythion), a fort on the Marica River, tried to negotiate with John through an envoy and offered to arrange a meeting. John invited him to Didymoteichos, only to find that the whole affair was a trick. Apokaukos then retired to Constantinople.[60]

John presently received separate embassies from Apokaukos and from the Patriarch in Constantinople trying to persuade him to renounce his imperial status, to which he replied with a lengthy defence of his claims, which was not unnaturally rejected.[61] The war therefore continued, but with greater success for John. Garella and certain other cities in Thrace now surrendered to him, among them being Megale Karya where John Batatzes, although the father-in-law of both Apokaukos and the Patriarch of Constantinople, went over to John, who rewarded him with the title of *megas stratopedarches*. Kallioupolis (Gallipoli) held out. But in the winter of 1344–1345 John was joined at Aigospotami by some Turkish infantry and cavalry brought over from Asia Minor by Suleiman, perhaps the son of Qaresi.[62]

John made abortive efforts to meet Apokaukos again, he having now returned to Herakleia. But Apokaukos soon went back to

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[59] Kantak. iii, 70: II, pp. 427–432; iii, 71: II, pp. 436–437. Greg. xiv, 4: II, pp. 703–707. Cf. Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, p. 205 note 1.

[60] Kantak. iii, 71: II, pp. 432–436. Greg. xiv, 5: II, pp. 708–711, who remarks that Apokaukos' offensive at Empythion (or Pythion, as he calls it) on the Marica River caused further desertions from John's army. It was during this campaign that the *protostrator* Andronikos Palaiologos, son-in-law of Apokaukos, was drowned in the Marica River. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, pp. 356–357.

[61] Kantak. iii, 73–75: II, pp. 444–473.

[62] Kantak. iii, 75–76: II, pp. 473–478. On the identification of this Suleiman, see Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, p. 204 note 1. The earthquake mentioned by Kantak. iii, 76: II, p. 477, 4–13, which devastated the town of Chora, can be dated to 6 November 1344. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, pp. 349, 363.

Constantinople discouraged by the activities of John's new Turkish allies. Before long nearly all of southern Thrace was in John's hands, although Kallioupolis continued to defy him. So also did Adrianople; but there John had hopes of his supporters within the city. They, however, anticipated his arrival and the plot miscarried; although Manuel, the son of Alexios Apokaukos, then governor of Adrianople, deserted his post and came over to John's side. John then marched east and attacked Bizye, before retiring to Apros. Here another attempt to assassinate him, inspired by Apokaukos, was discovered and thwarted. Soon afterwards Bizye surrendered. John committed its government to his brother-in-law Manuel Asen, and the administration of its church to the care of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had recently fled from Constantinople. He then encamped at Charioupolis.[63]

At this point, in the early part of 1345, John was assisted by the arrival in Thrace of a further contingent of Turkish troops, sent at his request by the Osmanli emir Orchan to whom the Empress Anne had also appealed. With the help of Orchan's army John was able to master almost all the Thracian cities towards the Black Sea. He then marched to the very walls of Constantinople and drew up his soldiers outside the Gyrolimne Gate, encamping by the Kamelos bridge.[64] While there he held an interview with two Franciscan friars from Galata, one being an abbot called Aregos (Enrico?) from Savoy. They stayed two days; and John took pains to explain his position to them and invited them to act as mediators with the Empress and the Patriarch in Constantinople. He offered to go to Constantinople himself as a private citizen to be judged for his supposed crimes by Church, Senate, and people, and even offered to abdicate and retire to Mount Athos if only his relatives and supporters in the capital could be released from prison. He committed to writing a record of their discussion and signed it in red ink, appending his gold seal to the document. To show his good intent he then withdrew his army from the city. The reply from Apokaukos which Aregos shortly brought back was chiefly concerned with John's hasty offer to abdicate; it proved wholly un-acceptable to John who sent the friar back with another message; and seeing that Apokaukos had meanwhile taken a mean advantage of his withdrawal from the city John attacked and captured a number of places including Rhegion, Athyra, Damokraneia, and Selymbria. He then returned to Didymoteichos.[65]

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[63] Kantak. iii, 77–79: II, pp. 478–492.
[64] Kantak. iii, 81: II, pp. 498–502.

After a time he came back to the suburbs of Constantinople and camped outside the Charisia Gate at Petrogephyra to see if there was any reaction to his last message to Apokaukos. But Aregos returned to say that the Empress was afraid to negotiate because she was under the impression that it was John's intention to murder herself and her children. John therefore went off to Adrianople, which now at length surrendered to him with its archon Paraspondylos. Černomen with its governor Hierax also submitted at the same time. Both men were pardoned and allowed to retain command of their cities. The result was that almost the whole of Thrace was now subject to John.[66]

In the spring of 1345 Umur, accompanied by Suleiman, son of Saruchan the Emir of Lydia, crossed over the Hellespont with some 20,000 cavalry and joined up with John at Didymoteichos. John and Umur became involved in war with Momčilo, and a battle was fought outside Peritheorion on 7 June 1345 in which Momčilo was killed. Momčilo's widow submitted to John and surrendered the city of Xanthe.[67] John then turned to relieving the siege of Serres, which Dušan had encircled, and moved his army to Christoupolis, pitching camp at the village of Gabriel. From here he sent envoys to Dušan threatening him with attack by the Turks if he did not withdraw.[68] At the same moment, however, news reached him from his friends in Constantinople of the assassination of Alexios Apokaukos which had occurred on 11 June 1345. Umur and Suleiman persuaded John against his better judgement to abandon Serres and now make straight for Constantinople since the moment seemed propitious. When they approached the city, however, they learned that order had been restored and that the administration was firmly in the control of the Patriarch assisted by Isaac Asen and Kinnamos Mystikos. John's frustrations and embarrassments were further aggravated by the sudden death of Suleiman at Apameia. For Umur, being wrongfully accused of having murdered Suleiman, thought it wise to hurry back to Asia Minor to pacify his ally Saruchan, the victim's father. In September 1345 John withdrew once more to Didymoteichos. In these circumstances Dušan was enabled to capture Serres, on 25 September 1345; and in December of the same year, flushed with his success, Dušan proclaimed himself Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks.[69]

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[65] Kantak. iii, 82–84: II, pp. 502–522.

[66] Kantak. iii, 85: II, pp. 522–529.

[67] Kantak. iii, 86: II, pp. 529–534. Greg. xiv, 9: II, pp. 726–729, dating the battle with Momčilo to four days before the murder of Alexios Apokaukos (11 June 1345). Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 44, pp. 338, 358–360. Enveri, *Le Destan*, 2277–2326, pp. 122–124. Cf. Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 206–207, 210–215.

[68] Kantak. iii, 87: II, pp. 534–536.

In Thessalonike meanwhile John Apokaukos, son of Alexios, had tried to seize the opportunities presented by the assassination of his father in June 1345 and by the murder of the leader of the Zealot party in the city to stage a coup d'état. His aim was to hand over the city to John; and as a preliminary he sent messages to Manuel Kantakouzenos in Berroia asking him to come and help. But the plan was not realized; Apokaukos was murdered with his associates, and Thessalonike reverted to Zealot rule under Andrew Palaiologos and George Kokalas.[70]

John now heard that his *megas stratopedarches* John Batatzes, whom he had commissioned to plunder the outskirts of Constantinople, had gone over to the Empress Anne and was negotiating the procurement of Turkish mercenaries for her from Suleiman, son of Qaresi, who had married his daughter. Batatzes turned a deaf ear to the pleas of the *protosebastos* Kalothetos and Nikephoros Metochites, both of whom were sent to try to win him back; and several of the Thracian cities changed their allegiance again and declared for Batatzes, who had now been joined by some Turkish troops. But in the end John Batatzes became the victim of his own duplicity; for the Turks who had answered his summons turned against him when called upon to ravage the territory of Kantakouzenos, and he was murdered. Great damage had been done, however, to John's hard-won possessions in Thrace, and the important city of Rhegion was wrested from him.[71]

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[69] Kantak. iii, 87–89: II, pp. 536–552; iv, 4: III, p. 31. Greg. xv, 1: II, pp. 746–747; xvi, 1: II, p. 795. Doukas x, 5: p. 65, 18–21 (Grecu); p. 39, 17–20 (*CSHB*), believed that Suleiman had been killed by John's son Matthew. Enveri, *Le Destan*, 2327–2372, pp. 124–125. For the chronology see Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 206–209, 210–217; G. C. Soulis, Ἡ πρώτη περίοδος τῆς Σερβοκρατίας ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ (*1348–58*), *EEBS*, XX (1950), pp. 56–57; Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, p. 361 and note 4.

[70] Kantak. iii, 93–94: II, pp. 568–582. Greg. xiv, 10: II, pp. 740–741.

With the army that he had collected to fight Batatzes, John decided to advance again on Constantinople, and he encamped at the Gephyra bridge. Also with him were Hierax and Paraspondylos, the governors of Černomen and Adrianople. John made contact with his friends inside the city in the hope of effecting an entry by the Xylokerkos Gate. But his plans were upset mainly by the treachery of Hierax and Paraspondylos, both of whom defected after the discovery of their implication in attempts to assassinate John. John withdrew to Selymbria, whence he launched a fruitless surprise attack on Hieron on the Black Sea coast; and from there he withdrew to Adrianople.[72]

John now resolved to fulfill the promise of his proclamation as Emperor five years before by going through the ceremony of coronation. The act was performed at Adrianople on 21 May 1346 by Lazaros, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. John thus became in practice as well as in theory Emperor of the Romans. At the same time he refused the request of many of his officers that his eldest son Matthew should be proclaimed his co-Emperor. He pointed out to them that such a thing could never be allowed to occur so long as the young John Palaiologos was alive, since it was his firm intention, once he had brought his victory to its conclusion, to maintain John Palaiologos as Emperor with himself and to give him the hand of his daughter in marriage. There could therefore be no question of nominating any other successor. After the coronation ceremony an assembly of bishops in Adrianople, who had gathered for the occasion, solemnly condemned and excommunicated the Patriarch in Constantinople, John Kalekas.[73]

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[71] Kantak. iii, 90: II, pp. 552–556. Greg. xiv, 11: II, pp. 741–743. On John Batatzes, see Parisot, pp. 205–206; Lemerle, *Philippes*, pp. 236–237; Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 219–220; Dölger, *Schatzk.*, no. 72–73; Guillou, *Prodrome*, pp. 118–119; Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, pp. 364–365.

[72] Kantak. iii, 90–91: II, pp. 556–564. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 9, pp. 35–36, (letter of Kydones to John from Thrace written in 1346).

[73] Kantak. iii, 92: II, pp. 564–568. Greg. xv, 5: II, p. 762.The assembled

As soon as the ceremonies were over John left Matthew in charge of affairs in Thrace and proceeded to Selymbria in the hope of making contact once again with his friends in Constantinople. But the time was not ripe. On his return to Adrianople he was met by ambassadors from the Emir Orchan asking for the hand of his daughter Theodora (*No. 29*) in marriage. The wedding took place at Selymbria in the early summer of 1346.[74]

Meanwhile the Empress Anne had succeeded in getting some Turkish troops from Saruchan; these came, however, accompanied by some troops from Umur and both armies in the end went over to John, who sent them home, though not before they had plundered Bulgarian territory.[75]

As the winter of 1346 drew on John seems to have stayed in Selymbria to keep in constant touch with his friends and supporters inside Constantinople. Two more attempts were made to assassinate him by spies sent into his camp. But before long a conspiracy was formed in the city, which was soon joined by Phakeolatos, a son-in-law and colleague of Kinnamos Mystikos and Isaac Asen in the management of affairs. It was Phakeolatos who in the end contrived to get word to John that he should present himself at the Golden Gate on a certain night and that his entry into Constantinople would then be secured.[76]

In the event John, having gone back to Adrianople to collect a party of one thousand picked men, reached the rendezvous a day late. Nevertheless, all turned out well, for the conspirators too had been held up for twenty-four hours. On the night of 2 February 1347 John entered the city through a passage dug under the Golden Gate.

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bishops drew up a synodical Tomos; and at the same time six of the bishops interned in Constantinople wrote to the Empress Anne condemning John Kalekas and advising his removal. Meyendorff, *Tome synodal de 1347*, p. 217 lines 209–217; pp. 217–218 lines 217–229. Cf. John's decree confirming the Tomos of 1347: Kantak. *Prostagma*, 767–770, 771D; Kantak. *Prooemium Tomi*, 700B-D. Cf. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 119, 130 note 5. Gregoras, xv, 3–4: II, pp. 755–760, gives what purports to be the text of a letter that John wrote to the Patriarch Kalekas shortly before his coronation and also the Patriarch's reply. Cf. Parisot, pp. 218–221.

[74] Kantak. iii, 94: II, p. 582; iii, 95: II, pp. 585–589. Greg. xv, 5: II, pp. 762–763. Doukas ix, 1–2: pp. 59–61 (Grecu). Cf. Parisot, pp. 213–216; Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 220–221.

[75] Kantak. iii, 96: II, pp. 591–596. Greg. xv, 5: II, pp. 763–765.

[76] Kantak. iii, 96, 97: II, pp. 589–591, 597–602.

He met with no resistance, but was, in his own words, "led on by the applause of the demos." The Empress Anne, however, who had that same day been presiding over a synod of bishops to depose the Patriarch John Kalekas, showed herself determined to hold out in the stronghold of the Blachernai palace; while John, having advanced as far as the palace of Porphyrogennetos, decided to wait until daybreak before proceeding further. At dawn on 3 February he went to give thanks in the Hodegetria church and then, since Anne showed no sign of surrender, summoned the clergy of the city for a consultation on the following day. After giving them his familiar apologia for his part in the civil war, with particular reference to his employment of Turkish soldiers, he sent two of their number, Neophytos of Philippi and Nicholas Kabasilas, to present his respects to the Empress. She, on the advice of her counsellors, sent them away, which so incensed some of John's troops that they stormed their way into the fortress of the Kastellion in Blachernai. John himself relates that the Empress was finally persuaded to give in by the entreaties of her fifteen-year-old son John V; and she ordered Andronikos Asen, John's father-in-law, and Gregory Palamas to be released from prison and to be sent as her ambassadors to John to negotiate a settlement. Agreement was reached on 8 February 1347 on the following terms: John promised to take no reprisals against those in the palace and to bear no grudge against the Empress and her son for their part in the war against him; and oaths were exchanged that John and the young Emperor John V should reign together as co-Emperors, bearing to each other the respect due between father and son, the younger yielding to the elder, for a space of ten years, at the end of which their rule should be jointly shared. John was then admitted into the palace.[77]

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[77] Kantak. iii, 98–100: II, pp. 602–615. Greg. xv, 8: II, pp. 773–780. Doukas ix, 3-x, 3: pp. 61–63 (Grecu). Cf. Florinskij, p. 245; Parisot, pp. 222–223. The date of John's entry into Constantinople is provided by the following sources: Greg. xv, 8: II, p. 775, 1: ἦγε δ' ὁ Φεβρουάριος τηνικαῦτα τρίτην ἡμέραν τοῦ ϛωνε ἔτους (6855 = 1347). Kantak. iv, 2: III, p. 13, 11 (letter of Bartholomew of Rome to Pope Clement VI): κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου .... Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 47, p. 80, 16–17: Ἔτει ,στωνδ' (*sic*) Φεβρουαρίῳ γ' ἡμέρα Σάββατον εἰσῆλθε βασιλεὺς Καντακουζηνὸς Ἰωάννης εἰς τὴν Μπόλ(ιν) ἐκ τῆς Χρυσέας Πόρτας ἐκ τοῦ Φακεολάτου. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 46, p. 338 (cf. pp. 366–367): Φεβρουαρίω β', ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε', τοῦ ,ϛωνε' ἔτους, ἐγένετο σύνοδος ... καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐσέβην ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ

John VI's reign as Emperor in Constantinople may be taken to last from his entry into the city on the night of 2 February 1347 until his formal abdication of all imperial authority on 10 December 1354; his reign as senior Emperor with John V Palaiologos may be taken to last from their agreement on 8 February 1347 until the proclamation of his son Matthew Kantakouzenos as co-Emperor in April 1353, at which time the name of John V was officially omitted from the ceremonial of Church and State.

John's first act after his settlement with Anne and her son on 8 February was to announce the betrothal of his daughter Helena to the young Emperor John V. The vows seem to have been taken on the same day. On 9 February he gave orders that all his own supporters as well as those of the Empress were to swear oaths of allegiance to both Emperors. Most of the former refused at first; but finally, after heated discussions lasting for three days, they relented and took the oaths required of them on 12 February. John then sent for his wife and daughters to come from Adrianople, and the betrothal of Helena Kantakouzene (*No. 30*) to John V was solemnized in the church of the Virgin's Spring outside the city.[78] Soon afterward the Emir Orchan came to Skoutari to offer his congratulations to

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Καντακουζηνὸς εἰς τὴν Πόλιν ἀπὸ τὴν Χρυσέαν πόρταν, προδοτῶν ὄντων τοῦ Φακεωλάτου καὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ. Lambros, Ἐνθυμήσεων συλλογή, I, p. 138 note 43 (note from Cod. Athous 1634 [= Lavra 219]). V. Laurent, "Notes de chronographie et d'histoire byzantine," *EO*, XXXVI (1937), pp. 169–170 (note from Cod. Atheniensis 1429, fol. 27). R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III (Vatican City, 1950), no. 778, p. 296 (note from Cod. Vat. gr. 778, fol. 1^{r}). Cf. Loenertz, *Chron. Vat.*, no. 8, p. 207. The date of John's agreement with Anne is provided by himself at the end of Book iii of his memoirs: Kantak. iii, 100: II, p. 615, 1–3: ὀγδόῃ Φεβρουαρίου ἱσταμένου, ἐπὶ τοῖς πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι πρὸς ἑξακισχιλίοις καὶ ὀκτακοσίοις ἐν ἰνδίκτῳ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ. Cf. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 47, pp. 338, 367–368 (7 February). The second of the two orations to John as Emperor which Demetrios Kydones composed soon after 3 February 1347 gives a vivid description of the surprise entry into the city and the reactions of the inhabitants: G. Cammelli, *Demetrii Cydonii ad Ioannem Cantacuzenum imperatorem oratio altera*, *BNJ*, IV (1923), pp. 77–83, especially pp. 81, 40–82, 39. The first of the two orations has rather more to say about the Kydones family than about John: G. Cammelli, in *BNJ*, III (1922), pp. 67–76; ed. Loenertz, in Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. I, pp. 1–10. For the synod that deposed John Kalekas, see Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 119–120, 129–130; Meyendorff, *Tome synodal de 1347*, pp. 218–226, 209. Cf. Kantak. *Lettre inédite*, ed. Darrouzès, p. 16.

[78] Kantak. iv, 1: III, pp. 8–12. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, pp. 367–368. Cf. Florinskij, p. 2.

his father-in-law and was there royally entertained for some days.[79]

In the prevailing mood of reconciliation John interviewed his arch-enemy the Patriarch John Kalekas. He reminded him that he had been deposed by his peers before John ever entered the city; but he invited him now, if he so wished, to plead his own defense in fair trial against the charges of heresy that had been laid against him. The Patriarch accepted the invitation; but when, on a second and then a third summons, he failed to present himself for trial, the synod of bishops in Constantinople drew up a Tomos condemning him and his accomplice in heresy Gregory Akindynos.[80] In May 1347 both Emperors ratified the election by the synod of the new Patriarch of Constantinople, Isidore, who publicly abrogated the ban of excommunication which Kalekas had imposed upon John.[81]

On 21 May 1347, the Feast of Saints Constantine and Helena, Isidore as Patriarch performed the second coronation of John Kantakouzenos as Emperor. The ceremony took place in the church of the Virgin in Blachernai in the presence of the Empress Anne and the co-Emperor John V Palaiologos. John then placed the crown of an Empress on the head of his wife. Some days after this event, on 28 or 29 May, the wedding of Helena Kantakouzene to John V was celebrated in the same church. John V then crowned Helena as his Empress.[82]

Having thus, in his own words, settled his domestic affairs, John now turned his attention to matters of foreign policy. Stephen Dušan of Serbia had to be thanked for his help in the past but also reminded of his undertaking to hand back the Greek cities that he had captured after the signing of his treaty, including Serres and Berroia. Dušan gave no straight answer to the ambassadors sent to him from Constantinople; and John was obliged, in the spring of 1348, to threaten him with the known horrors of attack by a Turkish army. To this end he got in touch with his son-in-law Orchan and also with Umur. Orchan gladly sent over a force of 10,000 men under the command of his eldest son Suleiman; and these, together with a regular army led by Matthew Kantakouzenos, were ordered to proceed toward Serbia. But the Turks, having breached the wall guarding the pass at Christoupolis, went no further than Mygdonia in the plain of Philippi, where they abandoned themselves to an orgy of plundering before going home across the Hellespont with a vast quantity of booty.[83]

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[79] Kantak. iv, 4: III, p. 28.

[80] Kantak. iv, 3: III, pp. 20–25. Cf. the very similar words of John's decree of March 1347 confirming the decisions of the synod: Kantak. *Prostagma,* 771–772. See G. T. Dennis, "The Deposition of the Patriarch John Calecas," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft,* XI (1960), pp. 51–55; cf. *DR*, V, no. 2917. The Short Chronicle in Cod. Vat. gr. 778, fol. 1^r, gives the date of the death in prison of John Kalekas as 29 December 1347, eleven months after the entry of John VI into Constantinople. Mercati, *Notizie,* pp. 202 note 1, 228 note 1.

[81] Kantak. iv, 3: III, pp. 25–28. Greg. xv, 10, 12: II, pp. 786, 791–793. Isidore was elected Patriarch on 17 May 1347. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 48, pp. 339, 368–369. Cf. Meyendorff, *Introduction,* pp. 130–131.

[82] Kantak. iv, 4: III, pp. 29–30. Greg. xv, 11: II, pp. 787–791. Doukas x, 3: pp. 63–65 (Grecu). The date of John's coronation, given by Greg. xv, 11: II, p. 788, 10–11, as 21 May, is confirmed by Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 48, p. 339 line 208. The text of Kantak. iv, 4: III, p. 29, 1, gives it as 13 May which, being four days before the election of Isidore to the Patriarchate, seems impossible. Helena's marriage to John V took place "seven days after" the coronation (Greg. *ibid.*: II, p. 791, 16 f.) or "on the eighth day after" (Kantak. *ibid.*: III, p. 29, 15 f.). See Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, pp. 368–371.

Other aspects of foreign policy that demanded the attention of John in the first year of his reign concerned the affairs of the Russian Metropolis of Kiev and negotiations with the Papacy. On the first of these issues John himself has nothing to say in his memoirs, but the text of his correspondence with Theognostos, Metropolitan of Kiev, and with Symeon (Ivanovič Gordyj), Grand Duke of Moscow, and Dimitrij Ljubart of Wlodzimirz, Prince of Volhynia, in September 1347 survives; so also does the text of the *praxis* of the synod of Constantinople confirming John's chrysobull of August 1347 in favor of Theognostos of Kiev, invalidating the detachment from his diocese of the see of Galicia (Halic) made by the former Patriarch John Kalekas.[84]

Of his negotiations with Pope Clement VI John himself gives a long account. They began in the autumn of 1347 when he dispatched to Avignon as his envoys George Spanopoulos the *protobestiarites*, Nicholas Sigeros, praetor of the demos, and a Latin knight called Francesco de Pertuxi. They were entrusted with a letter to the

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[83] Kantak. iv, 4: III, pp. 30–32. Greg. xvi, 6: II, pp. 834–835. Cf. Florinskij, pp. 8–9; Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 227–228.

[84] The documents are published in *MM*, I, nos. CXVII–CXX, pp. 261–271. The synodical *praxis* contains the text of John's chrysobull. Cf. Greg. xxxvi, 20–54: III, pp. 511–528. See *DR*, V, nos. 2925–2929.

Pope sealed with a golden bull explaining how and why John had been compelled to make use of Turkish troops in the civil war, and offering nonetheless to give his wholehearted support to the crusade against those barbarians then being planned by Pope Clement and the leaders of Italy and the West.[85]

Perhaps in the autumn of 1347 John had sent a ship to Thessaly to fetch his son Manuel, who had taken refuge there when driven out of Berroia by Stephen Dušan in 1345. When he got to Constantinople John held an investiture in the palace. Manuel and his brother-in-law Nikephoros Doukas were created Despots. Matthew, John's eldest son, was given no official title but honored with a rank higher than that of Despot; and John made his brothers-in-law John and Manuel Asen *sebastokratores*.[86]

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[85] John's own account of his dealings with Pope Clement is in Kantak. iv, 9–10: III, pp. 53–62. It is analyzed by Parisot, pp. 248–250. The Latin texts of various documents concerning the Byzantine embassy to Avignon, as well as of John's letter of 22 September 1347 to Pope Clement VI, are published by Loenertz, *Ambassadeurs grecs*, pp. 180–189. Among the intermediaries was the Latin priest Bartholomew of Rome, who had met John when he was still Grand Domestic at Didymoteichos and again later at Selymbria. Clement's correspondence with John is published by E. Déprez and G. Mollat, *Clément VI (1342–1352). Lettres closes, patentes et curiales intéressant les pays autres que la France* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), I, 1 (Paris, 1960), no. 1626 (letter to John of 15 April 1348 acknowledging the arrival of his envoys), nos. 1627, 1629, p. 216; II, 1 (Paris, 1960), no. 2002, p. 271 (letter to John of 31 May 1349 promising to send legates without further delay); no. 2136, p. 296 (letter to John of 13 February 1350 recommending to him the papal legates Gasperto de Orgolio and Guglielmo Emergani); no. 2233, p. 312 (letter to John of 28 June 1350, with copies to Matthew Kantakouzenos as "Emperor," to Andronikos, John and Manuel Asen, announcing the arrival of John's ambassador Leonardo Bartholomaei). See also J. Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient* (Paris, 1904), pp. 94–118; Halecki, *Un empereur*, pp. 15–16; Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 224–226; Meyendorff, *Projets de Concile*, pp. 161–164; R.-J. Loenertz, "*Ioannis de Fontibus Ord. Praedicatorum Epistula ad Abbatem et Conventum monasterii nescio cuius Constantinopolitani*," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXX (1960), pp. 163–195; C. Giannelli, "È Francesco Petrarca o un altro Francesco, e quale, il destinatario del 'De Primatu Papae' di Barlaam Calabro?", *SBN*, X (1963) (*Scripta minora di Ciro Giannelli*), pp. 200–201; W. de Vries, "Die Päpste von Avignon und der christliche Osten," *OCP*, XXX (1964), pp. 85–128. The negotiations were brought to an end with the death of Pope Clement VI in December 1352. As Loenertz, *Ambassadeurs grecs*, p. 178 and note 3, has observed, John himself is in error in saying that he sent John, "one of his friends in Galata of the Order of Preachers, to Pope Clement VI" (Kantak. iv, 9: III, p. 62), since it is known that the Dominican John of Pera was sent to congratulate Pope Innocent VI on his election after the death of Clement VI. See the reply of Innocent VI dated 27 October 1353, in P. Gasnault and M.-H. Laurent, *Innocent VI* (1352–1362). *Lettres secrètes et curiales publiées et analysées d'après les registres des archives Vaticanes* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3rd Ser., no. 4), I (Paris, 1959–1960), no. 610, p. 202.

John's well-intentioned but perhaps naive effort to relieve the economic plight of the Empire by spurring all classes of the population of the capital to a voluntary sacrifice met with much opposition. There were rumors of plots to beguile the young Emperor John V into organizing resistance from Galata; and many of John's staunchest supporters complained about the injustice of having to pretend to be loyal to their erstwhile enemies, the Empress Anne and her son. Some of the more hotheaded of these malcontents, spurred on by John Asen, had already convinced Matthew Kantakouzenos that he should fight for his own rights as heir to his father's crown by setting himself up as an autonomous prince in Didymoteichos and Adrianople. Only through the intervention of his mother Eirene, whom John sent to reason with him, had Matthew been persuaded to climb down and acknowledge himself to be the willing agent of his father's policies. John himself then went to Didymoteichos to complete Eirene's work and made over to Matthew an appanage in eastern Thrace. He also took occasion to remove the ex-Patriarch John Kalekas back to prison in Constantinople. It was in the midst of these troubles that John's third and youngest son Andronikos (*No. 26*) died of the Black Death which was then sweeping Constantinople and the East.[87]

In the early summer of 1348 John, who had already had his young son-in-law accompany him on a tour of the cities of Thrace to show him off as heir to the throne, took him on their first joint military campaign. Leaving his wife and his son Manuel in charge of Constantinople, John led his army out to deal with Dobrotica, the Bulgarian adventurer who had been made archon of Medeia on the Black Sea coast by the Empress Anne during the civil war. Dobrotica surrendered himself and his fortress and was suitably honored by the Emperor. John then sent the young Emperor back to Constantinople and himself proceeded toward Adrianople. On his way there, however, he learnt of the recent arrival of a marauding band of Turkish cavalry and decided to pursue them. There was a battle near Mesene (Mosynopolis) in Thrace, in the course of which John's life was unnecessarily endangered by the foolhardiness of his son-in-law Nikephoros. The Turks, however, were defeated and their survivors allowed to go home.[88]

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[86] Kantak. iv, 5: III, p. 33, 1–10. Greg. xvi, 1: II, pp. 795, 797. Ps-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, pp. 147–148, 276. See Matthew Kantakouzenos (*No. 24*).

[87] Kantak. iv, 5–8: III, pp. 33–53. Greg. xvi, 1: II, pp. 797–798; xvi, 2–4: II, pp. 798–819. Matthew's insurrection must have occurred before the end of 1347, since John Kalekas died on 29 December 1347. Cod. Vat. gr. 778, fol. 1ʳ, cited by Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 202 note 1, 228 note 1.

From Mesene John retraced his steps as far as Didymoteichos; and there he was taken ill of a kidney complaint which afflicted him for a whole year.[89] It was while he was incapacitated by illness and absent from the capital that the Genoese of Galata launched their attack on Constantinople across the Golden Horn. The first action took place on 15 August 1348, while Manuel Kantakouzenos was still in charge of the city. John, ill though he was, returned to take command by 1 October, and ordered a fleet to be built. Extraordinary taxes were imposed for the purpose, to be levied by Constantine Tarchaneiotes. The command of the fleet was entrusted to the *protostrator* Phakeolatos and the Grand Duke Tzamplakon. The second and final engagement was fought, with utter disaster for the new Byzantine navy, on 6 March 1349. It was an almost bloodless victory for the Genoese; and John was obliged to confirm them in possession of their fortified citadel in Galata.[90]

Subsequent allegations of extortion and violence on the part of

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[88] Kantak. iv, 8: III, p. 52, 1–12; iv, 10: III, pp. 63–67. Greg. xvi, 1: II, pp. 795, 797; xvi, 7: II, pp. 838–839. Cf. Parisot, p. 222; Florinskij, p. 7. On Dobrotica, see P. Mutafčiev, "Dobrotič-Dobrotica et la Dobrudža," *Revue des études slaves*, VII (1927), pp. 27–41; *DR*, V, nos. 2911, 2940. For the identification of Mesene with Mosynopolis, see Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, p. 172 note 6.

[89] Kantak. iv, 10: III, pp. 67, 8–68, 4. Greg. xvi, 6: II, p. 835.

[90] Kantak. iv, 11: III, pp. 68–80. Greg. xvii, 1–7: II, pp. 841–867. Cf. Parisot, pp. 234–239; Florinskij, pp. 10–12. The dates of the various phases of the Genoese War are provided mainly by Gregoras and, with greater accuracy, by Alexios Makrembolites, Λόγος Ἱστορικός, etc., ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, I (1891), no. VIII, pp. 144–159. Cf. Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 52, p. 89, 19–21; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 346–347; *Chron. Mosqu.*, ed. B. T. Gorianov, *VV*, II (1949), pp. 283–285. The events of the war are paraphrased from the accounts of Kantak. and Greg. by K. A. Alexandris, Ἡ θαλασσία δύναμις εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας (Athens, 1957), pp. 433–443. Cf. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), pp. 385–386, 453–455; C. P. Kyrris, "John Cantacuzenus and the Genoese, 1321–1348," *Miscellanea Storica Ligure*, III (Milan, 1963), pp. 9–48.

Constantine Tarchaneiotes and his agents in the collection of the taxes made it necessary for John to hold a public inquiry. Tarchaneiotes was found to be not guilty. But in view of the almost total failure of the revenue and the general reluctance of the inhabitants of Constantinople to give of their private means, John now introduced a number of taxes that had never been levied before. With the proceeds he was soon able to build a fleet of slightly less than two hundred ships.[91]

After making peace with his enemies in Galata in the spring of 1349, John sent an embassy to the Doge of Genoa asking for the return to the Empire of the island of Chios, which had been appropriated by some Genoese adventurers in 1346. It was ultimately agreed that the island should be handed back in ten years time, until which date the Genoese would pay an annual rent to the Emperor and protect the rights of all Greek citizens living on it. While these negotiations were in progress the harbor of Phokaia on the mainland opposite Chios fell into Byzantine hands and John appointed as its governor the Chiote Leo Kalothetos, who had earlier administered Chios for Andronikos III.[92] At the same time John sent his younger son, the Despot Manuel, to govern the Peloponnese, where he remained until his death in 1380.[93]

In the summer of the same year 1349 John dispatched Lazaros, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Manuel Sergopoulos as his envoys to the Sultan of Egypt, Malik Nasir Hasan. Their purpose was twofold: to establish friendship between Byzantium and Egypt, and more especially to ensure that the Greek churches in Jerusalem and the Christians in the Sultan's dominions, pilgrims as well as residents, should be protected; to secure official recognition from the Sultan of the reinstatement of Lazaros, who had been removed from his see by John Kalekas, as Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Sultan graciously granted all John's requests in a letter dated 30 October

[91] Kantak. iv, 12: III, pp. 80–81. Greg. xviii, 1: II, pp. 869–870. Cf. Parisot, pp. 230–231; Florinskij, pp. 12, 13 and note 2; *DR*, V, no. 2945.

[92] Kantak. iv, 12: III, pp. 81–84. Cf. Kantak. iii, 95: II, p. 583; Greg. xv, 6: II, pp. 765–767. Parisot, pp. 238–240; Florinskij, pp. 13–14; Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, p. 196 note 3.

[93] Kantak. iv, 13: III, p. 85, 11–14. Cf. Florinskij, p. 6. For the career of Manuel as Despot of the Peloponnese, see *infra, No. 25*.

1349 and written in demotic Greek, which he sent back to Constantinople by the hand of Manuel Sergopoulos.[94]

On 9 September 1349 John and his son-in-law John V jointly renewed the Empire's treaty with the Republic of Venice, which had last been signed by John V alone on 25 March 1342. The new treaty of friendship was for a period of five years and its terms were agreed by both Emperors, John Kantakouzenos and John Palaiologos, together and singly, following discussions with the Venetian ambassador Zaccaria Contarini. The document was signed and sealed with golden bulls by both Emperors.[95] Early in the following year 1350 John seems to have found it necessary to send an ambassador to Venice with a number of requests, some concerning the conduct of the Venetian community in Constantinople.[96]

When the Patriarch Isidore died in February or March 1350 John helped to secure the election of the monk Kallistos as his successor. Kallistos was brought to Constantinople by boat from the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos and appointed to the Patriarchate on 10 June 1350.[97] Another matter affecting the administration of the

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[94] Kantak. iv, 14: III, pp. 90–99, who gives the full text of the Sultan's letter. The Sultan accords to John the titles of:... τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Βουλγάρων, τῶν Ἀσανίων, τῶν Βλάχων, τῶν Ῥώσων καὶ τῶν Ἀλανῶν, τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ δόγματος τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ τῶν Σύρων, τοῦ κληρονόμου τῆς βασιλείας τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ αὐθέντου τῶν θαλασσῶν καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ τῶν νήσων, Ἀγγέλου Κομνηνοῦ Παλαιολόγου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ. Kantak. iv, 14: III, p. 94, 11–17. See especially M. Canard, "Une lettre du Sultan Malik Nasir Hasan à Jean Cantacuzène (750/1349)," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, III (1937), pp. 27–52; and full bibliography in *DR*, V, no. 2950. Parisot, pp. 246–247. Gerasimos, who, in 1341, had been made Patriarch of Jerusalem in place of Lazaros, continued to style himself as such until his death in 1349, despite the fact that Lazaros had been "legitimized" as Patriarch in 1347 by acts of the Patriarch Isidore and his synod supported by John VI and John V. See P. Wirth, "Der Patriarchat des Gerasimos und der zweite Patriarchat des Lazaros von Jerusalem," *BZ*, LIV (1961), pp. 319–323. The later fortunes of Lazaros are told by Kantak. iv, 15: III, pp. 99–104.

[95] Greek text in *MM*, III, no. XXVIII, pp. 114–120. Latin text edited by G. M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* (Monumenti storici pub. dalla R. Deput. Veneta di Storia Patria, V. Ser. prima, Documenti, V [Venice, 1880]), no. 171, pp. 341–345. Cf. Dölger, *Facsim.*, no. 13, pp. 18–19; *DR*, V, no. 2952. Earlier, on 14 July 1347, the Venetian ambassadors to the Khan of the Tartars had been instructed to sound the Baillie of Constantinople while they were in the city as to the propriety of paying their respects to the Emperor "Catacusino" and to congratulate him on his promotion to the throne. Thomas, *op. cit.*, no. 165, p. 310; cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 203.

[96] Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 237, pp. 68–69 (2 March 1350).

[97] Kantak. iv, 16: III, pp. 105–106. Greg. xviii, 1: II, pp. 869–873.

Church in which John had had to intervene in 1349 was the appointment of Gregory Palamas as Metropolitan of Thessalonike. The archons of the city, Alexios Metochites and Andrew Palaiologos, had refused to allow him access to his see on the ground that they owed their allegiance to John Palaiologos, not to John Kantakouzenos, whose creature they considered Palamas to be. John failed to persuade them to admit Palamas by writing to them, and tried therefore to win them over by issuing a document conferring various privileges of a public and private nature on the inhabitants of Thessalonike. The document was publicly burned in the middle of the city by Andrew Palaiologos and the Zealot leaders.[98]

This act, however, helped to precipitate the rift between Andrew Palaiologos and Alexios Metochites. Metochites broke with the Zealots, and Andrew was driven out of the city. John then received word from Metochites to say that unless he came at all speed to take possession of Thessalonike there was a strong chance that it would fall into the hands of Stephen Dušan, with whom the Zealots were known to be plotting and who was presently encamped in the neighborhood. John replied that he would bring help at once, and wrote an urgent message to Orchan asking for his assistance. Orchan promptly sent his son Suleiman with about 20,000 cavalry; and John prepared a fleet to sail to Thessalonike under his own command, taking with him his co-Emperor John V, whom he proposed to leave in command of Thessalonike during the winter. In the autumn of 1350 Matthew Kantakouzenos was instructed to lead Suleiman and the Turkish horsemen with a Greek army overland to Thessalonike, while John and his son-in-law made the journey by sea. When less than half way there Suleiman received orders from his father to return with his army to Asia Minor; and Matthew, unable to continue on his own, was forced to withdraw and disband his army. His father, however, sailed on. Ultimately, with the providential help of a Serbian officer whom he had known in earlier days and who now turned traitor, and of twenty-two Turkish pirate ships that happened to be anchored at the Strymon, John forced his way into Thessalonike. The leaders of the Zealots were rounded up and taken off to Constantinople, and the whole of the surrounding countryside was cleared of Serbian troops.[99]

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[98] Kantak. iv, 15: III, pp. 104–105. Palamas had been appointed to the see of Thessalonike by Isidore in 1347. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 131–132. Cf. *DR*, V, nos. 2951, 2962.

John stayed in Thessalonike for nearly three months, from October to December 1350 or early January 1351. While there he received an envoy from Venice, Jacopo Bragadino, looking for his assistance in the war of the Venetians against the Genoese. John very properly replied that he could do nothing to help his Venetian friends at the time since his first duty was to try to recover lost ground from the Serbians.[100] This he proceeded to do in the latter months of 1350, beginning with the recapture of the city of Berroia, which was accomplished with the help of the Turkish pirate ships sailing up river for the purpose.[101] From Berroia John marched on Edessa which, though garrisoned by a Serbian force under local command, had resisted all the efforts of Dušan to lay siege to it over a period of eleven years. Edessa too capitulated and John then returned to Berroia, leaving a garrison two hundred strong under the command of George Lyzikos.[102]

The towns and fortresses in the district around Berroia and Edessa now surrendered to John without resistance; though the castle of Servia on the border of Thessaly, defended by Dušan's general Gregory Preljub, defied capture and John was obliged to withdraw again to Berroia. Offers of submission also came from other cities, some well inside Dušan's dominions, including even Skopia; and at least two of the leading officers of the Serbian army, Radoslav Chlapen and Tolislav, deserted Dušan in favor of John. But John was not to be hurried into unplanned attacks on

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[99] Kantak. iv, 16–17: III, pp. 109–118. Greg. xviii, 2: II, pp. 876–877. Doukas x, 5: p. 65 (Grecu); p. 39 (*CSHB*), invents a battle between Mathew and Suleiman in which the latter was killed. Cf. Florinskij, pp. 15–16.

[100] Kantak. iv, 18: III, p. 118. It seems likely that the business of Bragadino was also connected with the redemption of the Byzantine crown jewels, then in pawn to Venice. Bragadino was at the time probably on his way to Constantinople to take up his appointment as the new Baillie of the Venetian colony there, an office which he held from 1350–1352. Cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, nos. 231, 243, pp. 67, 70. John VI had sent ambassadors to Venice about November 1349 to negotiate the return of the crown jewels, and again early in 1350 to discuss certain matters affecting the Venetian community and Venetian trade in Constantinople. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 237, pp. 68–69; cf. *DR*, V, nos. 2955, 2959.

[101] The almost bloodless recovery of Berroia is described in detail by Kantak. iv, 18: III, pp. 119–126. Cf. Florinskij, pp. 16–17.

[102] Kantak. iv, 19: III, pp. 126–130.

Serbia; and, having nominated the *protobestiarites* Diplobatatzes as governor of Berroia and Nikephoros Sarantenos as governor of the towns in Thessaly that had come over to him, he returned to Thessalonike. From there soon afterward he succeeded in recapturing Gynaikokastron.[103]

No doubt John's swift recovery of so much lost ground in Macedonia and Thessaly had been helped by the fact that Stephen Dušan was at the time engaged in war with Hungary on his northern frontiers. But when the news of the loss of Berroia reached him he came hurrying back to lodge a protest with John and to suggest that they should meet to resolve their differences. John agreed, and on an appointed day the two rulers met near Thessalonike. After discussions lasting for two days some kind of an arrangement was worked out. Whether or not it was in the form of a treaty based upon definite terms for the partition of territories, as John himself makes out, is a matter for dispute. But the question is academic for hostilities broke out again within twenty-four hours. Dušan took his army away and laid siege to Edessa, while at the end of the winter John set sail for Constantinople. He left Thessalonike in the hands of his father-in-law Andronikos Asen and the young Emperor John V.[104]

Upon his return to Constantinople John sent ambassadors to John Alexander of Bulgaria disclaiming any responsibility for the recent ravages of Bulgarian territory by Turkish soldiers. He suggested that Alexander could indeed help him prevent the Turks from crossing into Thrace at all by contributing to the cost of ships to patrol the Hellespont and to the general upkeep of the Byzantine navy. Alexander was persuaded that the idea was sound, but in fact his contributions were never forthcoming. John, however, applied what resources he had to building up the fleet, and cleared the harbor of the Heptaskalon which had been clogged with mud for many years.[105]

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[103] Kantak. iv, 19–20: III, pp. 130–136. Cf. Florinskij, pp. 17–18.

[104] Kantak. iv, 20–22: III, pp. 137–160. Greg. xiii, 2: II, pp. 878–879. *Chron. Mosqu.*, ed. Gorianov, *VV*, II (1949), p. 285. John gives a long and detailed account of his interview with Dušan and of the terms of the treaty agreed between them. Cf. Parisot, pp. 242–244; Jireček, *Serben*, I, p. 402; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 297–298. Florinskij, pp. 19–23, concluded that the treaty was a fabrication. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 2967. Edessa fell to Dušan very shortly afterward, early in January 1351. Kantak. iv, 22: III, pp. 160–162.

It had become evident to John that the schism in the Church between those who continued to uphold the doctrines of Barlaam and Akindynos on the one hand (for all that they had been condemned by two previous councils in 1341 and 1347) and those who subscribed to the teaching of Palamas and the practitioners of hesychasm on the other was now so serious that it could be resolved only by the convocation of yet a third council. This was convened on 28 May 1351 by order of John as Emperor and Kallistos as Patriarch. The bishops assembled in the *triklinion* of Alexios Komnenos in the Blachernai palace. John himself presided, assisted by his brother-in-law the *sebastokrator* Manuel Asen, by his wife's cousin Michael Asen, and by the *panhypersebastos* Andronikos Asen. The discussions lasted for four days, 28 May, 30 May, 8 June, and 9 June. John made a sincere effort to ensure that the main exponents of the anti-Palamite cause, Matthew of Ephesos, Joseph of Ganos, and Nikephoros Gregoras, were given freedom to express their opinions at length; and he himself took part in the debates with his friend Gregoras. At the final session of the council, on 9 June, he ordered that the Tomos of the council of 1341 be read out and then, after a last appeal to the anti-Palamites, the Tomos of the council of 1347 which had been compiled against Matthew of Ephesos and his supporters. In July 1351 a second council was convened, without the anti-Palamites being present, in which John again took part and pronounced the final verdict—that Palamas was fully Orthodox in his beliefs and that his doctrine was in full conformity with the traditions of the Fathers. A final Tomos was then drawn up, embodying the decision of the bishops in council: then on 15 August 1351 John entered the sanctuary of St. Sophia, solemnly presented this document, now signed by himself as Emperor, to the Patriarch Kallistos, and sat through three readings of it, the last reading being by Kallistos.[106]

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[105] Kantak. iv, 22: III, pp. 162–165. Cf. Florinskij, pp. 24–25; *DR*, V, nos. 2969, 2970.

[106] Kantak. iv, 23: III, pp. 166–171. Greg. xviii, 3-xxi: II, pp. 881–1031. Text of the Tomos of 1351 in *MPG*, CLI, 717-762; for other editions, see Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 406, and *DR*, V, no. 2982; and for the fullest account

In his memoirs John allows himself an unusually bitter invective against Nikephoros Gregoras for his continuing anti-Palamite activities even after the council of 1351, but more especially for his alleged falsification of the history of John's rise to power. He provides the substance of the reply which he later made, when the writings of Gregoras came into his hands after his abdication in 1354, clearing himself alike of the charge of having promoted the spread of heresy and of having considered only his own advancement to the detriment of the state.[107]

At the time of the hesychast council, in May 1351, John was driven into making a new treaty of alliance with Venice, and thus ultimately into taking sides in the conflict between the Venetians and the Genoese. The circumstances, as he describes them, reveal his reluctance to become so involved. A fleet of fourteen Venetian ships attacked the Genoese in Galata and afterward sailed along the coast capturing some cargo vessels coming down from the Black Sea. Giovanni Delfino then arrived as Venetian ambassador in Constantinople seeking the Emperor's alliance. At first John refused to commit himself, as he had earlier done at Thessalonike. The Genoese also solicited his alliance, but were likewise turned down. The Venetians then removed their Baillie from Constantinople by way of reprisal; and as soon as the Venetians had gone the Genoese from Galata began hurling rocks over the city wall into Constantinople. When, despite a formal protest, this occurred a second time, John felt that he had no option but to declare war on the offenders. He therefore recalled the Venetian ambassador and signed a treaty with him.[108]

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of the council, see Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 141–150; cf. Kantak. *Lettre inédite*, ed. Darrouzès, p. 16, 30–39. John V Palaiologos, who was not in the city at the time, appended his signature to the Tomos in February or March 1352, under pressure from John VI (if Greg. xxx, 3: III, pp. 268–269, is to be believed). Cf. R.-J. Loenertz, "Wann unterschrieb Johannes V. Palaiologos den Tomos von 1351?", *BZ*, XLVII (1954), p. 116. Matthew Kantakouzenos added his signature to the document on the occasion of his coronation as Emperor in February 1354. See *infra, No. 24*.

[107] Kantak. iv, 24–25: III, pp. 171–185. Cf. Dräseke, *Kantakuzenos' Urteil*, pp. 106–127. Gregoras claims to have been sixty years of age in 1351; he died in 1359–1360, having completed the latter part of his History after 1354. Cf. Greg. xxii, 2: II, p. 1047; Greg. *Corr.*, ed. Guilland, p. xi.

[108] Kantak. iv, 25–26: III, pp. 185–191. Cf. Parisot, pp. 250–252; Florinskij, p. 27. A Latin copy of the text of this treaty of May 1351 exists. See *DR*,

As a consequence of these events John became a reluctant partner in an attack on Galata as the ally of the Venetians. The first encounter, however, was inconclusive. The Venetians turned tail at the approach of a fleet from Genoa, and John's army and navy had to be recalled with little accomplished.[109]

In the midst of these difficulties, in the summer of 1351, John was alarmed to hear from Thessalonike that the friends of John V there had persuaded him to rebel and to get in touch with Stephen Dušan to support him in a just war against his father-in-law. Andronikos Asen was manoeuvred out of Thessalonike and arrived in Constantinople. Preoccupied as he was with the Genoese war, the best that John could do was to send the Empress Anne to Thessalonike to reason with her son. Anne succeeded in averting the threat of war by persuading Dušan to withdraw his troops from Thessalonike; and John yielded to his son-in-law's request that he should be granted Ainos and the cities of Thracian Chalkidike to hold as a private principality.[110]

The Genoese fleet on its way from Italy to the relief of Galata had meanwhile put in to attack the Thracian city of Herakleia. John sent an army to its defense commanded by his son-in-law the Despot Nikephoros, then governor of the Thracian Chersonnese, and another army from Bizye under Manuel Asen. But Herakleia fell to the Genoese, and their fleet sailed on to Constantinople. Before they arrived, however, John had given orders for all his own ships to be drawn in to the harbor of the Heptaskalon; he had also taken measures for the repair of the sea walls and for the digging of a ditch from the Eugenios Gate to the Xyline Gate. All the inhabitants of the city had been brought inside the walls and the army had been recalled from Thrace. There was thus little that the

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V, no. 2975. John was also in touch with King Peter IV of Aragon, to whom he wrote two letters about May 1351. In January of the same year Peter had made a treaty of his own with Venice against the Genoese: letter of Peter of Aragon to John VI of 2 August 1352 in Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, no. CCIV, p. 261; *DR*, V, no. 2974.

[109] Kantak. iv, 26: III, pp. 193–200.

[110] Kantak. iv, 27: III, pp. 200–209. Greg. xxvii, 26–29: III, pp. 147–150. Cf. Villani, *Croniche*, III, xxviii: p. 65; xxxiv: p. 68. For Anne's career in Thessalonike after 1351, see especially Loenertz, *Cabasilas*, pp. 216–220, 224–226.

Genoese could do. John had also provided for the defense of the cities on the Black Sea, all of which were thus able to protect themselves against the Genoese fleet, except for Sozopolis which, having refused the Emperor's help, fell an easy prey to the Italians.[111]

After some delay the Venetian admiral Niccolò Pisani, who had been back to Venice, set sail for Constantinople with a fleet augmented by twenty-six ships supplied by Peter of Aragon, making a total of seventy vessels. Toward the end of winter 1352 he reached the harbor of the Heptaskalon and joined forces with the Byzantine admiral Constantine Tarchaneiotes. On 13 February 1352 a sea battle was fought in the Golden Horn between the Genoese under Paganino Doria and the Venetians under Niccolò Pisani, assisted by the Aragonese under Ponce de Santa-Pau and the Byzantines under Tarchaneiotes. John describes the battle as a victory for the Byzantines and their allies which was marred only by the timid refusal of the Venetian admiral to follow it up. Pisani is said to have been deaf to all the Emperor's entreaties to come back and finish the job and to have hung about idly for some thirty days. Gregoras on the other hand contrasts the eagerness for action of Niccolò Pisani with the half-hearted attitude of the Emperor John. The Genoese at all events were encouraged to continue the struggle. They got in touch with Orchan of Bithynia, who had his own reasons for disliking the Venetians, and Orchan sent a large contingent to help the Genoese defend Galata. John, who had now been joined by his son-in-law John V returned from Thessalonike, made what preparations he could; but he seemed unable to inspire a proper martial spirit in the Venetian commander Pisani. In the end Pisani withdrew all his ships leaving John to fight it out alone with his own fleet and the Aragonese. John waited for forty days in the hope that Pisani would come back. However, when it was clear that his supposed ally had deserted him he had no option but to conclude a treaty of his own with the Genoese, on 6 May 1352.[112]

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[111] Kantak. iv, 28–29: III, pp. 209–218. Greg. xxvi, 10–17: III, pp. 76–84. For the Genoese attack on Herakleia, see Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 64, pp. 96–98, and the eye-witness account of the Metropolitan Philotheos, edited by C. Triantafillis and A. Grapputo, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus manu scriptis Bibliothecae S. Marci*, I (Venice, 1874), pp. 1–33. *Chron. Mosqu.*, ed. Gorianov, *VV*, II (1949), pp. 286–287. Philotheos later returned to his city and persuaded John to grant the remaining inhabitants freedom from taxation. Kantak. iv, 29: III, p. 218. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 2983.

It was in January or February 1352, in the course of the Genoese war, that John V arrived back in Constantinople, having left his mother Anne in charge of affairs in Thessalonike. He spent some time with his father-in-law in the capital, but he was anxious to take over the cities in Thrace which John had allotted to him. John therefore let him go, though not before he had added the city of Didymoteichos to the young Emperor's principality. This arrangement had not unnaturally aggravated the already existing tension between John V and Matthew Kantakouzenos. Matthew, who was in Adrianople, was summoned to Constantinople by his father. He gave various excuses for procrastinating and John himself had to promise to come north as soon as possible to reconcile the differences between the two. Meanwhile he asked his wife Eirene to go and do what she could, taking with her two bishops, Philotheos of Herakleia and Metrophanes of Melnik, as well as John Philes and apparently Manuel Angelos, the καθολικὸς κριτής. She was to try to persuade the two to live in harmony, John V in Didymoteichos and district, Matthew in Adrianople, the latter being at once the vassal and the "brother" of the former. John V was amenable in principle, but flatly refused to put his signature to any document regarding the status of his brother-in-law; and Eirene returned to Constantinople having achieved nothing. John V was then persuaded by his friends to take up arms against Matthew and, with the help of an army of Turks, he laid siege to Adrianople. Matthew and his uncle Nikephoros

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[112] Kantak. iv, 30–31: III, pp. 218–234. Greg. xxvi, 18–25: III, pp. 84–92; xxvi, 40–41: III, pp. 106–108; xxvii, 23, 30: III, pp. 144–145, 151. *Chron. Mosqu.*, ed. Gorianov, p. 287. Villani, *Croniche*, II, lxxv: p. 84. Cf. Parisot, pp. 254–262; Florinskij, pp. 28–29. For the chronology, see R.-J. Loenertz, "Wann unterschrieb Johannes V. Palaiologos den Tomos von 1351?", *BZ*, XLVII (1954), p. 116. The text of John's treaty of 6 May 1352 with Genoa is printed in H. Riccotius, *Liber iurium reipublicae Genuensis*, II (*Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, IX [Turin, 1872]), no. 203, cols. 601–606; L. T. Belgrano, *Documenti riguardanti la colonia Genovese di Pera* (Genoa, 1888), no. XVI, pp. 124–125. *DR*, V, no. 2991. Cf. also Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 51, p. 85, 28. In the early part of 1352 John sent a French knight called "Franciscus Iterij de Arvernia" on a diplomatic mission to Venice to try to secure further help against the Genoese. Predelli, *Libri Commemoriali*, IV, no. 412: II, p. 198. *DR*, V, no. 2988.

Kantakouzenos (*No. 34*) held out in the citadel and sent an urgent message to the Emperor in Constantinople. John hurried north with an army and had to fight his way into Adrianople against the opposition of the people to relieve his son. He then sent his troops out to attack the cities that had gone over to John V, notably Černomen; though he deliberately refrained from attacking Didymoteichos. John V retaliated in suitable fashion and called on the help of John Alexander of Bulgaria and Stephen Dušan, who gladly sent him an army of cavalry; he also went down to Ainos on the coast to make an agreement with representatives of Venice. John, thus faced with a coalition of Serbians, Bulgarians, and Greeks, had (in his own words) no alternative but to summon an army of Turks from his other son-in-law the Emir Orchan in Asia Minor.[113]

In October 1352 the Patriarch Kallistos came to John at Adrianople to plead with him to avert the calamity of another civil war, and John sent him to talk to John V at Didymoteichos. In the meanwhile, however, the foreign allies of both sides had arrived on the scene and taken matters into their own hands. A Turkish army of some 10,000 or 12,000 cavalry led by Orchan's son Suleiman chanced to encounter the Serbian and Bulgarian allies of John V on the Marica River and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. The victorious Turks then continued their journey to Adrianople, whence after a few days they returned home to Asia Minor with some booty acquired on the side from a raid into Bulgaria.[114]

When the Patriarch reported back that his effort to mediate had failed, John sent another peace mission to his son-in-law composed of his nephew Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 36*) and Metrophanes, Bishop of Melnik. But they too returned empty-handed. John then declared open war on the young Emperor, until the latter was forced to give in and come to terms in the winter of 1352–1353. It was at first agreed that John V should be allowed to retain control of the appanage allotted to him in Thrace, including the city of Didymoteichos. But his supporters were not to be so easily tamed; and in the early months of 1353 John obliged his son-in-law to leave Didymoteichos and Thrace and to take up residence with his wife and their second son Manuel on the island of Tenedos across the water from Ainos.[115]

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[113] Kantak. iv, 32–33: III, pp. 237–247. Greg. xxvi, 26–32: III, pp. 92–99; xxvii, 30–55: III, pp. 150–172. Cf. Florinskij, p. 30 f. For Eirene's delegation to Didymoteichos cf. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 64, pp. 96–98. The terms of John V's pact with Dušan, as also the number of troops supplied by Dušan (Kantak.: 7000 men; Greg.: 4000 men), are somewhat differently given by Kantak. and Greg. Cf. *DR*, V, nos. 2992, 2993, 2994, 2997, 2998, 3000. For John V's agreement with the Venetians, dated 10 October 1352, see *DR*, V, no. 3005.

[114] Kantak. iv, 34: III, pp. 247–250. Greg. xxviii, 1–7: III, pp. 176–182. Cf. Florinskij, p. 36. Demetrios Kydones congratulated John on the victory of his Turkish allies, as though it had been John's own victory, in epic terms, comparing the Hebros (Marica) to the Homeric Scamander. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, nos. 13, 15, pp. 40–42, 43–44; cf. nos. 59, 63, pp. 91, 95–96.

This treatment satisfied neither John V nor his partisans. John made new arrangements for the administration of the parts of Thrace that had belonged to his ungrateful son-in-law. But even before he got back to the capital, in March 1353, John V made a desperate attempt to fight his way into Constantinople, sailing across from Tenedos in one trireme with a handful of smaller ships. The attempt was thwarted by the vigilance of the Empress Eirene, and John V returned to Tenedos, where he collected his wife and son and made for Thessalonike, to be comforted by his mother Anne.[116]

John was in Bera when he heard of his son-in-law's venture. Taking Matthew with him, he hurried back to Constantinople and arrived only ten days later. But the bird had flown back to Tenedos. As a consequence of this event, and of John's own reluctance to come to a decision, there was now no little confusion among the aristocracy in Constantinople as to whether they should continue to regard John V as their Emperor or treat him as an enemy, in which case Matthew should be proclaimed co-Emperor in his place. John, while appreciating their bewilderment, reminded them of the terms of the agreement that he had made with the Empress Anne in this respect and counselled them against taking precipitate action. He then sought the opinion of the Patriarch Kallistos. Kallistos bluntly threatened to resign if Matthew were proclaimed Emperor and refused to discuss the matter further for all John's entreaties.

[115] Kantak. iv, 34: III, pp. 250–254. Greg. xxviii, 8–9: III, pp. 182–183, makes John V go first to Ainos on the Thracian coast and then to Lemnos. Cf. Parisot, pp. 276–277; Florinskij, pp. 36–37.

[116] Kantak. iv, 35: III, pp. 255–256. Greg. xxviii, 18: III, pp. 187–188, gives John V one trireme and eighteen smaller ships. The date of his attempt to enter Constantinople, Palm Sunday, is provided by Loenertz, *Chron. Vat.*, no. 9, p. 207 (17 March 1353).

The senators, the aristocracy, and the officers of the army, however, unanimously appealed to John to take the step of nominating Matthew as Emperor. John harangued them at some length, recapitulating his version of the events leading up to this crisis and making special reference to the provocation to which he had been subjected by John V. But once he had made it clear that his hand was being forced, John was ready to yield. A few days later, probably in April 1353, the ceremony of Matthew's proclamation as Emperor was conducted in the palace; thenceforth it was decreed that the name of Matthew Kantakouzenos should be commemorated in place of that of John Palaiologos in the ritual of the court and the Church, although the names of the Empress Anne and of John V's son Andronikos were not to be omitted.[117]

Having been invested with all the symbols of imperial authority Matthew returned to Adrianople. But he had still to be crowned and anointed as Emperor; and John now applied his mind to trying to persuade the Patriarch Kallistos, who had retired to the monastery of St. Mamas, that this was for the best. Kallistos, however, remained adamant; and John finally sanctioned the election of another Patriarch, taking elaborate care to see that the correct procedure was adopted. The successful candidate was Philotheos, Bishop of Herakleia, who was consecrated Patriarch of Constantinople in November 1353. Kallistos fled first to Galata and later, with the help of the Genoese, to Tenedos where John V, who had by then returned to the island from Thessalonike, rewarded him for his loyalty.[118]

In February 1354 Matthew and his wife came to Constantinople and his coronation as Emperor was performed by the new Patriarch Philotheos, assisted by John, in the church of the Virgin in Blachernai.[119]

Not long afterward John sent messengers to the Emir Orchan requesting him now to recall his Turkish troops from Thrace whose continuing presence was proving an embarrassment. But on 2 March 1354 the entire coastal area of Thrace was struck by a devastating earthquake. As a result of this disaster the Turks, encouraged by Orchan's son Suleiman who arrived in Thrace himself, made permanent settlements in several of the ruined cities, among them that of Kallioupolis (Gallipoli). John protested first to Suleiman and then to his father Orchan, promising to pay Suleiman 40,000 hyperpyra by way of compensation if he would relinquish the cities he had occupied. Orchan agreed to meet John at Nikomedeia to discuss the situation, but he failed to appear at the appointed time or place, and John had to return empty-handed to Constantinople.[120]

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[117] Kantak. iv, 35–37: III, pp. 256–270. Greg. xxviii, 19: III, pp. 188–189.

[118] Kantak. iv, 37: III, pp. 270–275; iv, 38: III, p. 276. Greg. xxviii, 30–33, 39: III, pp. 195–198, 201–202; xxix, 5, 49–50: III, p. 226, pp. 257–258.

[119] Kantak. iv, 38: III, pp. 275, 20–276, 2. Greg. xxviii, 43: III, p. 204. Cf. Parisot, pp. 278–282; Florinskij, pp. 37–39. For the date and circumstances of this event, see under Matthew Kantakouzenos (*No. 24*) *infra*.

In the summer of 1354 John went over to the island of Tenedos, either to arrest or to negotiate an agreement with John V. He took with him Matthew and Matthew's wife. They anchored for the night at a small uninhabited island near Tenedos called Mavria, moving on the following day to the island of Hagios Andreas. John's own account of this affair is that his mission failed because of the treacherous action of some of his officers who sent secret messages of encouragement to John V. Another cause of his failure was the hostility of the soldiers on the island, who prevented John's ships from drawing water on the other side of Tenedos. John V himself seems to have made no effort to get in touch with his father-in-law, so that neither discussion nor arrest proved possible. John therefore left for Ainos where Matthew and his wife and company disembarked to make their way to Adrianople.[121]

Only a few months later, however, on the night of 21–22 November 1354, John V surprised everyone by slipping across from Tenedos with one or two triremes and a few smaller ships, as he had done before. But this time he contrived to steal into the harbor of the Heptaskalon under cover of darkness; and from there gained entry into the city. When the word went around at dawn there was confusion and uproar. John hurriedly took counsel with his wife Eirene and Demetrios Kydones in the palace and debated whether to resist the interloper by force of arms or to abide by his own better judgement and forbear from taking the initiative in aggression. The more militant of his advisers called for immediate action; and to satisfy them John wrote to his son Matthew, to his son-in-law the Despot Nikephoros, to his nephew the *sebastokrator* Andronikos Asen, and also to his Turkish allies ordering them all to bring reinforcements to the city at once. But, by his own account, this was mere bluff, for he had already made up his mind that the moment had now come to fulfill his desire to abdicate and enter a monastery. Meanwhile John V advanced upon the palace and on 23 November fighting broke out. The city mob enthusiastically joined in storming the Kastellion, the fortified area of the Blachernai palace, though they were held at bay by John's Catalan mercenaries. In the thick of the confusion the Patriarch Philotheos fled into hiding. On the following day, 24 November, the third day after John V's entry into the city, a settlement was reached between the two Emperors. John risked the displeasure of his military advisers and surrendered. The agreement, to which each bound himself by oath, provided for the joint rule as co-Emperors of John VI and John V, the junior ceding the primacy to the senior in all things as before. Matthew Kantakouzenos was to remain autonomous with the rank and title of Emperor in Adrianople for his lifetime, and John V pledged himself never to make war on Matthew. John was to hand over to his colleague the fortress at the Golden Gate which he had renovated and garrisoned with a strong guard of Catalan soldiers.[122]

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[120] Kantak. iv, 38: III, pp. 276–281. Greg. xxviii, 67–68: III, pp. 220–222; xxix, 1–4: III, pp. 223–226. Cf. Parisot, pp. 282–284; Florinskij, pp. 39–43. The "treaty" which John claims to have made with Orchan over the return of the city of Tzympe, and which Orchan is alleged to have ignored, has probably rightly been discredited as a piece of special pleading on John's part. See *DR*, V, no. 3019; cf. nos. 3013, 3022–3025. The date of the earthquake in Thrace is provided by Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 15, p. 31, 10–11; no. 52, p. 89, 22–25; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 347–349; cf. Villani, *Croniche*, III, cv: p. 120. John claims that Orchan offered to abide by his promise to return the Thracian cities in the autumn of 1354. Kantak. iv, 39: III, p. 284.

[121] Kantak. iv, 39: III, pp. 281–284. Greg. xxix, 19–20: III, pp. 236–237, gives it as his opinion that John's purpose in sailing to Tenedos was to fight rather than to parley with John V. Parisot, p. 284, shares this view. Florinskij, p. 44, writes of "the strenuous opposition of the islanders to the attempt of Kantakouzenos to occupy Tenedos and Imbros in July 1354."

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[122] Kantak. iv, 39–40: III, pp. 284–293. Greg. xxix, 27–30: III, pp. 241–244; xxix, 35: III, p. 247, 1–7. Cf. Florinskij, p. 44; *DR*, V, no. 3032. The date of John V's entry into Constantinople is accurately provided by a marginal note in Codex Laurentianus Plutensis LXXXV, VI, fol. 2^{r}, printed with a Latin translation by A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, II (reprinted, Leipzig, 1961), col. 251, and republished by Sp. Lambros, 'Ιωάννης Ε' Παλαιολόγος καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης

After some preliminary discussions in the palace, John wrote again to the relatives and allies whose help he had summoned telling them that their services were now no longer required since agreement had been reached and there was no need of reinforcements. A crowd of Turkish soldiers, who had anticipated this countermanding of orders and arrived outside the city walls, departed after being assured by John in person that there was going to be no fighting. The two Emperors then held council with the senate in the house of the Grand Logothete Metochites. The main topic of their debate was the problem of whether or not to take arms against the Turks who had recently settled in Kallioupolis and Thrace. John addressed the assembly and argued strongly in favor of trying to settle the matter by negotiation rather than force. He pointed out the deficiencies of the Empire in naval, military, and economic resources and stressed the necessity of enlisting foreign allies or mercenaries before contemplating war against the hordes of Asia. Some of the younger senators reproached him with evading the issue of fighting the Turks because his own daughter was married to the Emir Orchan. John V expressed no opinion; and in the end John dismissed the meeting without trying to force them into accepting his own view since it was now his firm resolve to abdicate.[123]

Three days later John delivered over to his co-Emperor the fortress at the Golden Gate, as promised in their agreement. The Catalan garrison commanded by Juan de Peralta at first refused to lay down their arms, protesting that they were well equipped and supplied to fight on John's behalf against any number of enemies.

Κόκκινος, *NH*, XIV (1920), pp. 403–404; also by the Short Chronicle in Codex Vat. gr. 778, fol. 1^{r}: κατὰ τὸ ͵ςωξγʹ ἔτος εἰσήχθη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰω(άνν)ης ὁ Παλαιολόγος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἰνδ. ηʹ μηνὶ νοεβρίῳ ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ· ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη καʹ . . . Cf. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 131 note 3. Doukas xi, 1–5: pp. 67–71 (Grecu); pp. 40–43, (*CSHB*), makes the Genoese adventurer Francesco Gattilusio John V's principal accomplice and the hero of the hour in the entry into Constantinople. Kantak. on the other hand has nothing to say about Gattilusio's alleged part in the exploit, and Greg. xxix, 27: III, p. 241, 20, appears to go out of his way to emphasize that John V entered the city unsupported by any foreign ally (συμμαχίας πάσης ἀλλοφύλου χωρίς). See D. M. Nicol, "The Abdication of John VI Cantacuzene," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, II (1967).

[123] Kantak. iv, 40: III, pp. 293–300.

John had to threaten them with writing to their own king in Spain denouncing them as rebels and traitors and mutineers before they agreed to surrender the keys. He was then able to hand over the fortress to John V.[124]

All the while John and his wife Eirene and their court continued to live in the Blachernai palace; John V was accommodated in the private residence known as Aetos. A few days after the surrender of the Golden Gate fortress, however, John, fearful that people should think there was still some disagreement between them, with his wife's consent invited his son-in-law and his suite to move into the Blachernai palace. John accepted the invitation and on 8 December both Emperors were installed in the palace. On the day following, however, John presented formal notice of his intention to abdicate, and on 10 December 1354, in a ceremony in the palace, he divested himself of all his imperial insignia and put on the habit of a monk, adopting the monastic name of Joasaph. At the same time his wife Eirene took the veil as the nun Eugenia. John then retired to the monastery of St. George of the Mangana in Constantinople while Eirene entered the convent of Kyra Martha.[125]

After some weeks in the Mangana Monastery John contemplated withdrawing to the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, as he had once before planned to do. But John V asked him to stay at hand in Constantinople at least until such time as a more permanent settlement had been reached with Matthew. In the winter months of 1354–1355 an uneasy peace reigned between the two rival Emperors John V and Matthew, until toward the end of the winter hostilities broke out, and in the spring of 1355 John V set out on campaign against Matthew, who was still in control of Adrianople and district together with his uncle Nikephoros Kantakouzenos the *sebastokrator* (*No. 34*). After some fighting a meeting was arranged in Gratianoupolis, at which it was mutually agreed that Matthew should take over the government of the Peloponnese and persuade his younger brother Manuel to accept instead the possession of the island of Lemnos. The agreement was short-lived, however, and fighting broke out again in 1356.[126]

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[124] Kantak. iv, 41: III, pp. 300–304.

[125] Kantak. iv, 41: III, pp. 304–308. Greg. xxix, 30: III, pp. 243–244. For the sequence of events cf. Nicol, *op. cit.* The date of John's formal abdication is provided only by the note in Cod. Laurent. Plut. LXXXV, VI, fol. 2^r (see *supra*, note 122). The circumstances of the event and the motives that prompted him to abdicate are analyzed by, e.g., Parisot, pp. 285–298; Florinskij, pp. 44–45; E. Frances, "Narodnie dviženija osenju 1354 g. v Konstantinopole i otrečenie Joanna Kantakuzina," *VV*, XXV (1964), pp. 142–147; Lj. Maksimović, "Politička uloga Jovana Kantakuzina posle abdikacije (1354–1383)," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, IX (1966), pp. 119–132. The name Christodoulos was a fictitious monastic name which John chose to employ as a nom de plume or pseudonym in the composition of several of his theological works and also in the prologue and epilogue to his memoirs. Cf. Dräseke, *Zu Johannes Kantak.*, pp. 77–79.

In the end Matthew, deserted by the Turks who had come to his aid, was handed over to his rival by the Serbian governor of Drama, Vojichna, who had treacherously taken him prisoner. John V had him taken to Tenedos in the autumn of 1356 and then to Lesbos in 1357, to be held in custody by the Genoese ruler of Lesbos Francesco Gattilusio, who had recently become John V's brother-in-law. From there Matthew was eventually released, mainly as a result of the tactful intervention of his father who, in an interview with John V in the Mangana Monastery, expressed his profound gratitude that his son's life had been spared and promised to remove Matthew from the scene of his ambitions once he was released from prison.[127]

In December 1357 John V had Matthew set free and brought to Epibatai for discussions concerning his future status. Matthew at first refused to consider the terms proposed, but his father went to Epibatai himself and urged him to do as John V proposed and resign his imperial title. It was only after a private interview with his father that Matthew relented, making it possible for John to go back to the Emperor in Constantinople to announce that all was well. All the various Emperors and Empresses then assembled at Epibatai and witnessed the swearing of the oath of allegiance to John V Palaiologos by Matthew Kantakouzenos.[128]

In 1361 John took Matthew and all his family by ship to the Peloponnese to join his other son the Despot Manuel. He spent over a year at Mistra with his sons before returning to Constantinople.[129]

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[126] Kantak. iv, 42: III, pp. 309–314. See also under Matthew Kantakouzenos (*No. 24*) *infra*.

[127] Kantak. iv, 44–46: III, pp. 319–340. Greg. xxxvi, 5–6: III, pp. 503–504; xxxvii, 64–69: III, pp. 564–565.

[128] Kantak. iv, 47–49: III, pp. 340–358.

[129] Kantak. iv, 49: III, pp. 358–360. John himself (Kantak. iv, 49: III, p. 358, 10 f.) records his departure for the Peloponnese immediately after

Thereafter John, now the monk Joasaph, seems to have spent most of his time in Constantinople, though perhaps paying occasional visits to the Peloponnese. That his part in the political and, perhaps more particularly, the ecclesiastical life of the Empire was by no means terminated as a result of his entry into a monastery is abundantly evident. He remained at the least a respected figure in the capital whose advice was often sought, at the most an influential power behind the scenes. The title of *basileus* was still applied to him as a mark of deference, even for a while by his son-in-law, and still employed by himself when he felt the occasion demanded it.[130] He had returned to Constantinople from the Peloponnese at latest by the spring of 1363; for in April of that year George Scholarios and

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the settlement at Epibatai. Parisot, pp. 305–306, argued that John must have left the capital at the earliest at the end of 1358, if not in the spring of 1359. But the interval seems to have been even longer. The date of John's arrival in the Peloponnese with Matthew is now known from two letters of Manuel Raoul referring to it as a recent event and connecting it with the outbreak of plague in Constantinople, which is accurately dated by two of the Short Chronicles; it lasted from September 1361 until August 1362. Man. Raoul, *Corr.*, nos. 3 and 5, pp. 142–145, 148–149 (the latter being written to John, addressed as *basileus*, shortly after his arrival in the Peloponnese). For the plague of 1361–1362, see Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, §9, pp. 404, 416–417; Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 15, p. 31, 12–14; no. 52, p. 89, 26–27; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 349–351. Cf. Panaretos, ed. Lambros, p. 283; ed. Lampsides, p. 74, 9–11. Among those who sailed with John from Constantinople to the Peloponnese in 1361 was Demetrios Kassandrenos. He died there soon afterward. His epitaph was written by Constantine Amanteianos. Bassi, *Sette Epigrammi*, no. I, p. 393, 16–22. The last item recorded in the memoirs of John is the reinstatement of the Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos following the death of Kallistos while on a mission to Serres to see Dušan's widow. Kallistos is known to have left Constantinople on 20 July 1363. Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, p. 416; Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 47, p. 81, 23; no. 52, p. 89, 28–30; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 351–352. Cf. Kantak. iv, 50: III, p. 363, 19 f.; Parisot, pp. 308–310; Dräseke, *Zu Johannes Kantak.* pp. 73–76. Philotheos was reinstated on 8 October 1364 and held the patriarchal throne until 1376. John therefore concluded the writing of his Histories some time after 1364 and before 1369, since the Florence manuscript of the work bears the date 8 December 1369. See *infra*, p. 100 and note 170.

[130] On John's political role after 1354, see especially Lj. Maksimović, "Politička uloga Jovana Kantakuzina posle abdikacije (1354–1383)," *Zbornik Radova*, IX (1966), pp. 119–193. John V refers to his father-in-law as πατὴρ τῆς βασιλείας μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Καντακουζηνός in an unpublished chrysobull for the monastery of Docheiariou of 22 September 1355. See Dölger, *Johannes VI*, p. 21; cf. *DR*, V, no. 3048. The Patriarch Philotheos makes some revealing statements about John's status in the capital as an elder statesman respected by "all the Emperors and Empresses" as a father figure, not least by his son-in-law John V. Philotheos, *Contra Gregoram*, XII: *MPG*, CLI, 1129B-C; cf. Meyendorff, *Projets de Concile*, p. 150.

Michael Panaretos arrived in the capital as envoys of Alexios III of Trebizond, and Panaretos relates that they had audience of the Emperor John V Palaiologos and "the Emperor Joasaph Kantakouzenos the monk," as well as of the Patriarch Kallistos, now reinstated, the Empresses and the sons of the Emperor.[131]

In June 1367, acting as Emperor at the request and in the name of John V and the Patriarch, John received the papal legate Paul, titular Patriarch of Constantinople, in the Blachernai palace. A long discussion took place, in which John put forward the traditional Byzantine point of view on the subject of the union of the Churches; and a tentative proposal was agreed upon for the holding of an oecumenical council within the next two years. John continued to be in active contact with Paul throughout the years 1368–1369, as witnessed by his four unpublished letters of 1369.[132]

In 1369 or 1371 John is found writing, again as *basileus*, a letter from Constantinople to the Bishop of Karpasaia in Cyprus, explaining the past history of the conciliar condemnations of Barlaam, Akindynos, John Kalekas, and the other anti-Palamites. In this letter John claims to have been prevented from writing sooner because of certain unspecified circumstances which had engaged all his attention and also because of his absence from Constantinople.[133] At about the same time John is known to have been at work on the composition of his refutation (*Antirrhetika*) of the anti-Palamite treatise of Prochoros Kydones. Demetrios Kydones, writing to John about 1372, alludes to John's widespread propaganda for this work.[134]

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[131] Panaretos, 32–33: p. 284 (Lambros); p. 74, 28–30 (Lampsides): εἴδαμεν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ἰωάσαφ μοναχὸν τὸν Καντακουζηνόν, τὸν πατριάρχην κῦρ Κάλλιστον καὶ τὰς δεσποίνας καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως.

[132] Meyendorff, *Projets de Concile*, p. 170, 24–26: Τοῦ τε μὴν βασιλέως τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἀξιωσάντων τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν ὥστε περὶ τούτου συντυχεῖν καὶ ὁμιλῆσαι, κατεδέξατο αὐτὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα. Cf. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 166, 412 (for the manuscripts of John's correspondence with the legate Paul).

[133] Kantak. *Lettre inédite*, ed. Darrouzès, pp. 15–21 (Greek text); p. 15, 4–6: . . .εἶχε κατὰ σκοπὸν γράψαι καὶ δηλῶσαί σοι περί τινων ἀναγκαίων, ἐνεποδίζετο δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπό τινων συμβαινόντων; p. 20, 34–36: Καὶ ἔμελλον γράψειν καὶ πλατύτερον περὶ τούτων, ὅτι δὲ ᾠκονομήθην καὶ ἤμην εἰς ἐκβολὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. John here refers to himself as: ἡ βασιλεία μου (p. 15, 2), and signs the letter as: Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καντακουζηνός, ὁ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθεὶς Ἰωάσαφ μοναχός (p. 21, 3–5). The words "Joasaph monachos," however, seem to be added by a later hand in one manuscript and to be missing altogether in the other. For the date of this letter, see *ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

John was still in Constantinople in the years 1374 to 1376. On 25 July 1374 Pope Gregory XI sent two legates to Constantinople to discuss again the problems of the union of the Churches and the possibility of Byzantine participation in the anti-Turkish league. Before they left Avignon the Pope wrote recommending his legates and their mission to a number of influential persons in the East, among them the ex-Emperor John, whom he described as "Joannuchio Canthacusino ordinis S. Basilii professori"; and on 28 January 1375 Pope Gregory addressed a personal appeal to John.[135] In the same year, 1375, John composed, for the benefit of Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Thessalonike, a document confirming the historical rights of the monastery of Vatopedi over that of the Prodromos in Berroia. In his inquiry Dorotheos cites this evidence, supplied to him by: ὁ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν κυρὸς Ἰωάσαφ μοναχὸς ὁ Καντακουζηνός.[135a]

A year later, when John V seemed reluctant to renew his former treaty with Venice, the Venetian senate sent a special commission to Constantinople to argue with him. The commissioners, who received their orders on 12 March 1376, were instructed, if they judged it useful to their purposes, also to approach the Emperor Kantakouzenos while they were in Constantinople.[136]

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[134] See *infra*. Cf. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 400, pp. 355–356; Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 5 note 1, p. 42 note 2.

[135] Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, XXVI, *anno* 1374, 1–3; *anno* 1375, 2–3. Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, VIII (Quaracchi, 1932), pp. 339–342, 356–357. G. Mollat, *Lettres secrètes et curiales du Pape Grégoire XI (1370–1378) intéressant les pays autres que la France* (Paris, 1963), no. 2772, p. 52; cf. nos. 2768–2779, pp. 52–53; no. 3119, pp. 99–100 (dated 28 January 1375 and addressed: "Johanni dicto Cantacusino O.S. Basilii professori..."). Cf. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente francescano*, V (1927), pp. 201–202; Halecki, *Un empereur*, pp. 306–307. In his letter of 13 December 1374 to Manuel Kantakouzenos Pope Gregory XI refers to the efforts of Manuel's father to promote the cause of union. Mollat, *op. cit.*, no. 3041, p. 89.

[135a] *Semeioma* of Dorotheos of Thessalonike of June 1375. Text in G. I. Theocharides, Μία διαθήκη καὶ μία δίκη βυζαντινή, Μακεδονικά, II (1962), pp. 42–49. In his *gramma* (p. 47, 90–94) John-Joasaph recalls his entry into Thessalonike with Andronikos III in 1328, "forty-seven years ago." Theocharides, pp. 39, 83, dates this *gramma* to 1373, apparently on the ground that Andronikos III entered Thessalonike in 1326 and not 1328. But see *supra*, p. 40 and note 13.

In the stirring events of the years 1376–1379 John became the unfortunate victim of the frustrated ambitions of his grandson Andronikos IV. For when in June 1379 John V and his other sons Manuel and Theodore managed to escape from the prison in which Andronikos had had them put three years before, Andronikos fled to Galata and retaliated by taking with him as hostages his grandfather John as well as his mother Helena and her two sisters. John, then aged about eighty-four, must have suffered during his imprisonment in Galata, besieged as it was by the army of his son-in-law and stricken by famine and disease. But finally in May 1381, following the signing of a treaty between John V and Andronikos, the hostages, John among them, were allowed to return to Constantinople.[137]

During his imprisonment in the years between 1379 and 1381 John's second son Manuel (*No. 25*), Despot of the Peloponnese, had died, in April 1380, leaving the administration of the Despotate to his somewhat reluctant brother Matthew. This event, added to his recent harrowing experiences as a hostage, persuaded John that the time had come for him to leave Constantinople and to spend his last days in Greece. Perhaps before leaving the capital he arranged with John V to have the latter's son Theodore Palaiologos sent out to govern the Peloponnese in place of the late Manuel Kantakouzenos; an arrangement apparently acceptable to Matthew. Until such time as Theodore arrived there Matthew would, as Demetrios Kydones observed to him in a letter written in the autumn of 1382, be able to profit from the wise counsel of his father.[138]

It was there at Mistra, the capital of the Greek Despotate of the

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[136] Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 575, pp. 142–143.

[137] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 222, pp. 103–110; Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, p. 34 (*MPG*, CLVI, 205D). Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 47, p. 81, 52–53; no. 52, p. 89, 34–38; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 352–355. Loenertz, *Chron. Vat.*, nos. 11, 13, 14, pp. 208–209. Doukas xii, 3: p. 73 (Grecu); pp. 45–46 (*CSHB*). Chalk. ii: I, pp. 55–58 (Darkó); pp. 62–63 (*CSHB*). Cf. Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 41–46. The text of the treaty between John V and Andronikos IV and his son John VII is in *MM*, II, pp. 25–27; *DR*, V, no. 3171.

[138] Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, pp. 38, 1–40, 7 (*MPG*, CLVI, 208B–C); Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 241, p.145, 38–45. Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse*, pp. 163–165; Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 115–116.

Peloponnese, that John Kantakouzenos died and was buried. The date of his death was 15 June 1383.[139]

The opinion that John retired as a monk to Mount Athos and more specifically to the monastery of Vatopedi and that he died there seems to have originated with the historian Doukas in the fifteenth century. It was perpetuated by DuCange and has had a long vogue, fostered perhaps by the monks of Vatopedi themselves.[140] It is true that John had certain dealings with Mount Athos, some of them with the monastery of Vatopedi. Shortly before 1341, when still Grand Domestic, he seems to have visited the Holy Mountain to ask the monks to pray for the health of Andronikos III. He records how, being minded to withdraw from the vanity and cares of this world to one of their monasteries, he picked on that of Vatopedi and gave the monks money with which to construct a dwelling for him. Andronikos III and his wife, however, were strongly opposed to the idea of John's retirement and so he returned to Thessalonike, having promised the monks at Vatopedi that he would go back to join them later. His wishes were thwarted by the death of Andronikos III in 1341 and by the burden of responsibility then laid upon him.[141]

After his abdication in December 1354 and his entry into the Mangana Monastery in Constantinople John again seems to have cherished the hope of returning to Vatopedi; but he was restrained by John V.[142] His interest in Vatopedi is further attested by two documents issued by him as Emperor in 1347 and 1349. They refer to the request of the monks of Vatopedi for the gift of a hostelry in Constantinople in which they could stay when visiting the capital. Their request was granted by *prostagma* of John as Emperor in October 1347 with the donation to Vatopedi of the monastery of the Theotokos Psychosostria in Constantinople, confirmed by *sigillion* of the Patriarch Isidore in the same month. Two years later, in December 1349, John granted a chrysobull to the monks of Vatopedi adding further properties to that already donated. This benefaction too was confirmed by the Patriarch.[143]

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[139] The only source of this information is Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 52, p. 89, 50–51; Charanis, *Chron.*, p. 358. Cf. Ada Gonzato, "Il Codice Marciano Greco 408 e la data del romanzo bizantino di Alessandro," *BZ*, LVI (1963), p. 246: Ἐν ἔτει ͵ϛωϟα', ἰνδικτιῶνος ϛ', μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιε' ἐκοιμήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς κῦρις Ἰωάννης ὁ Καντακουζηνός, ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ἰωασάφ, μοναχὸς εἰς τὴν Μωρέαν καὶ ἐτάφη ἐκεῖ. Cf. Spandounes, p. 145, 4–6: "...et fu constretto Joanne Cantacusino lassare lo impero et farsi monaco nel Peloponesso, et chiamosso Josaph."

[140] Doukas xi, 5: p. 71, 1–4 (Grecu); p. 43 (*CSHB*): ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Καντακουζηνὸς ἅπαξ ἀφεὶς καὶ δόξαν καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ τρυφὴν κατὰ κόσμον ἐζήτει παρὰ βασιλέως λόγον τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν τῆς Πόλεως καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει καὶ μονάσαι ἐν ἑνὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων· ὃ καὶ πεποίηκε κἀκεῖ διαβιβάσας χρόνον ἱκανὸν καλῶς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο. Cf. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 260. The idea that John retired to Mount Athos was accepted by Dräseke, *Zu Johannes Kantakuzenos*, p. 82, and *Kantakuzenos' Urteil*, p. 109. John Comnenus, however, the doctor from Bucharest who published his biography in 1699, knew better (John Comnenus, *Vita*, p. 13); so also did Florinskij (p. 46), though he misread the date of John's death at Mistra as 13 instead of 15 June 1383. Cf. Politis, *Eine Schreiberschule*, p. 26.

[141] Kantak. iv, 24: III, pp. 176–178.

[142] Kantak. iv, 42: III, p. 308.

These documents may be taken to constitute evidence of some partiality towards the monastery of Vatopedi; but they cannot be made to prove that John ever lived there. Nor was Vatopedi the only Athonite monastery in whose affairs he showed an interest. At least two others benefited from his attentions. About 1350 he confirmed by *prostagma* the privileges and chrysobulls granted to the monastery of Alypiou by his "grandfather" (Andronikos II) and his "brother" (Andronikos III).[144] In July 1351 John likewise guaranteed the privileges and the possession of certain properties of the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos.[145] He extended his bounty also to other monasteries in the Empire, notably to that of Megaspelaion in the Peloponnese and to those of St. George of the Mangana and of John Charsianeites in Constantinople itself.[146]

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[143] Geron Arkadios Vatopedinos, Γράμματα τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Ψυχοσωστρίας, *BNJ*, XIII (1937), pp. $308^{\delta'}$–$308^{\varepsilon'}$ (*prostagma* of October 1347); pp. $308^{\zeta'}$–$308^{\iota\alpha'}$ (chrysobull of December 1349). The text of the first document is also in Dölger, *Schatzk.*, no. 43–44. Cf. *DR*, V, nos. 2931, 2956. The contemporary copies of both documents were made by Metrophanes, Bishop of Melnik, for whom cf. Kantak. iv, 32: III, p. 239, 14; iv, 34: III, p. 251, 7. The chrysobull is signed in red ink by John as βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καντακουζηνός. John also donated a number of manuscripts to the monastery of Vatopedi. Cf. L. Politis, "Jean-Joasaph Cantacuzène fut-il copiste?", *REB*, XIV (1956), pp. 198–199; Politis, *Eine Schreiberschule*, p. 26.

[144] This deed was confirmed by the Patriarch Kallistos. Dölger, *Schatzk.*, no. 82; Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, no. 22, pp. 93–94 (p. 94, 11); *DR*, V, no. 2958. It is very possible that a confusion grew up in the mythology of the monastery of Vatopedi between the Emperor-monk John-Joasaph Kantakouzenos and the Emperor-monk of Serbia and Thessaly John-Joasaph Uroš. See, e.g., N. A. Bees, "Geschichtliche Forschungsresultate und Mönchs- und Volkssagen über die Gründer der Meteorenklöster," *BNJ*, III (1922), pp. 382–385, 387–388; Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 101–102, 111.

[145] M. I. Gedeon, Πατριαρχικαὶ Ἐφημερίδες ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας *1500–1912*, I (Athens, 1936), pp. 44–49; Dölger, *Iberon*, p. 211; *DR*, V, no. 2980. The document is signed by John as the Emperor Kantakouzenos.

It was to the Mangana Monastery and not to Mount Athos that John retired in the winter of 1354–1355. How long he remained there is not known; but it seems that he spent at least a large part of his monastic life in the smaller monastery of Charsianeites in Constantinople, also known as the monastery of the Theotokos Nea Peribleptos which he had endowed by chrysobull during his reign as Emperor. The later Patriarch Matthew I (1397–1410), who was himself abbot of this monastery in the 1390's, recalls in his Testament how, in the time of the first abbot Markos, the ex-Emperor Kantakouzenos had come to live in the Charsianeites Monastery and placed himself under obedience to Markos. John Charsianeites, the monk Job, who founded the monastery in the fourteenth century, was evidently a noted "Cantacuzenist." His house had been looted and destroyed by the city mob when John V entered the city of Constantinople in November 1354; and he himself escaped bodily injury only by taking refuge in St. Sophia. His monastery had also suffered, being deprived by John V of some of the property which Kantakouzenos had made over to it by chrysobull. Its fortunes were revived, however, by the devoted labors of its monks, and also by the decision of John to take up residence there. John was given preferential treatment and lodged in the abbot's house, there being no monastic *kellion* grand enough to sustain his dignity. In the course of his time there John built a loggia and balcony for the monks and also financed the interior decoration of their cells, as he is said to have recorded in a document written by his own hand. It may well have been there, in the monastery of Charsianeites, that John completed his Histories and also his theological works.[147]

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[146] Chrysobull for Megaspelaion monastery of April 1348: *DR*, V, no. 2939. For John's endowment of the Mangana Monastery in 1350, see Kantak. iv, 16: III, p. 108, 1; *DR*, V, no. 2963; cf. *DR*, V, no. 2985, and *MM*, I, no. CXXXVII, pp. 317–318. His chrysobull for the monastery of Charsianeites (not listed in *DR*) is mentioned by the later Patriarch Matthew I in his Testament. It conferred on the then recent foundation the district of Palatitzia and certain other valuable properties within the city of Constantinople. Hunger, *Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios*, p. 298, 1–8.

[147] The only source for John's sojourn in the monastery of Charsianeites is the Testament of the Patriarch Matthew. Hunger, *Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios*, p. 299, 4–17: τοῦ τοίνυν ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας μονῆς ἀσπασαμένου διατριβὴν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποτάξαντος τῷ

The sincerity of John's monastic vocation as well as its allegedly voluntary nature have both been questioned and even derided by later scholars.[148] Discussion of this problem has no place in this work. But it may be observed that the reiterated protestations of John himself on this score need not necessarily condemn him as a hypocrite or a dissembler.[149] His intention to resign from public affairs, first openly voiced (on his own testimony) in 1341, was closely connected with his desire to become a monk. According to the Patriarch Philotheos it had long been John's ambition to retire into a monastery with a group of his friends, including Nicholas Kabasilas and Demetrios Kydones, to live under the spiritual direction of Philotheos himself. The plan was well advanced in the year 1350, when John discreetly endowed the monastery of the Mangana, where his friends had settled in preference to the monastery of St. Mamas. It was still in his mind in 1351 and in the summer of 1354. But the circumstances did not seem to him to be wholly favorable until the initiative in public affairs had been taken out of his hands by the action of John V in November 1354.[150]

The official documents of state that emanated from the Byzantine chancellery over John's signature during his reign have been mentioned above. But aside from these a number of private documents has been preserved. The earliest date from the period before his first proclamation as Emperor in 1341. Some time before May 1329, in

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καλογήρῳ μου τῷ ἁγίῳ...ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὑπῆρχεν ἀξιολογώτερον κελλίον εἰς καταμονὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ ἡγουμενεῖον. ὁ δ' ἀνέκτισε τὸν ἡλιακὸν καὶ τὸ ὑπερφέρον μικρὸν ἀνώγεων, κονίᾳ τε καὶ πρασίνῳ ἐπέχρωσε χρώματι τὰ ἐντὸς τῶν κελλίων, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ οἰκειοχείρῳ διαλαμβάνεται γράμματι. Doukas, alone among the Byzantine historians, relates that John first entered the monastery of Peribleptos after his abdication, which may be intended to refer to the monastery of the Nea Peribleptos, the proper name of the Charsianeites Monastery. Doukas xi, 4: p. 69, 24–26 (Grecu); p. 42 (*CSHB*): Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Καντακουζηνὸς ἐν συντόμῳ τῇ μονῇ τῆς Περιβλέπτου εἰσελθὼν κείρεται τὴν κόμην καὶ ἀμφιέννυται τὰ μέλανα.... Later references to the Charsianeites Monastery are collected by Janin, *Les églises*, pp. 516–517. Cf. H. Hunger, in *Jahrb. d. österr. byz. Gesellschaft*, VII (1958), pp. 136–139.

[148] See, e.g., E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, VI (London, 1898), p. 505: "So soon as he ceased to be a prince, his successor was not unwilling that he should be a saint."

[149] See, e.g., Meyendorff, *Projets de Concile*, p. 150.

[150] Kantak. iii, 3: II, pp. 25–28; iv, 16: III, pp. 106–108; iv, 24: III, pp. 176–178; iv, 27: III, p. 206; iv, 38: III, p. 281. Cf. Philotheos, *Contra Gregoram*, *MPG*, CLI, 1128C-D; Man. Raoul, *Corr.*, no. 1, pp. 135–136, lines 163–170. Meyendorff, *Projets de Concile*, p. 150.

his capacity as Grand Domestic, John partnered his mother in making over to the monastery of Vatopedi the *metochion* of St. Demetrios at Serres. In October 1338 his signature, perhaps in his own hand, as John Palaiologos Kantakouzenos Grand Domestic, appears on the deed of his mother's donation of some land at Serres to the monastery of Koutloumousiou on Mount Athos.[151] In the same year 1338 John, as Grand Domestic, issued an order (*graphe*) to the *oikonomos* and *taboullarios* Demetrios Diabasemeres to investigate a complaint lodged by the monks of Chilandari Monastery.[152] In November 1347 John, as Emperor, issued a *prostagma* and a chrysobull in favor of his *megas papias* Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas; and in October 1349 his *oikeios* Demetrios Deblitzenos was the beneficiary of two similar privileges.[153]

It is a curious fact that none of the private correspondence of John has so far come to light. His letters to the Patriarch John Kalekas and to the Bishop of Karpasaia in Cyprus, his correspondence with the papal legate Paul between 1367 and 1369, and his letters to the dignitaries of Russia in 1347 may all be classed as official documents.[154] That John did in fact correspond with his many friends and colleagues is evident from their replies. But not a single one of his own letters to them appears to be extant.[155] His correspondents, however, are known to have included Nikephoros Choumnos, Michael Gabras,

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[151] Regel, *Chrysob.*, no. 4, pp. 14–19 (chrysobull of Andronikos III for Vatopedi dated May 1329); *DR*, IV, no. 2746. Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, no. 18, p. 87 (*ekdoterion gramma* of Theodora Palaiologina Angelina Kantakouzene, of October 1338).

[152] Petit, *Chilandari*, no. 130, p. 272.

[153] G. I. Theocharides, Δημήτριος Δούκας Καβάσιλας καὶ ἄλλα προσωπογραφικὰ ἐξ ἀνεκδότου χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ, Ἑλληνικά, XVII (1962), pp. 1–23; *DR*, V, nos. 2932, 2933. Ktenas, *Docheiariou*, no. 4, pp. 291–292; Dölger, *Schatzk.*, no. 10; *DR*, V, nos. 2953, 2954. The *chrysoboullos logos* of November 1342 in the monastery of Philotheou which refers to "the rebel Nikephoros Kantakouzenos" (*No. 34*), and which was assigned by its editors to John VI, has now been assigned to John V. Regel, *Philotheou*, no. VII, pp. 21–22. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 2884.

[154] See *supra*, note 73 and p. 89. John is also known to have written a letter to Cola di Rienzo in Italy in the summer of 1347, congratulating him on his successful seizure of power in Rome. A. Gabrielli, *Epistolario di Cola di Rienzo* (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Epistolari*, XIV [Rome, 1890]), no. 6, p. 106.

[155] Gregoras, e.g., refers to the letters that John wrote to his friends upon hearing a false rumor about the death of Gregoras. Greg. *Corr.*, no. 80, p. 108. Cf. Man. Raoul, *Corr.*, no. 1, p. 133; no. 2, p. 140.

Nikephoros Gregoras, Theodore Hyrtakenos, Nicholas Kabasilas, Demetrios Kydones, and Manuel Raoul.[156] In the fashion of their age these writers were more concerned to extol the virtues of John, whether as Grand Domestic or as Emperor, than to dwell upon the facts of his career. But historical allusions can sometimes be dredged from the deep waters of their rhetoric.

Other, more deliberate and formal encomia of John also exist. His deeds and talents as Grand Domestic were notably praised by the court poet Manuel Philes in a number of odes and particularly in his Ἠθοποιΐα δραματική, which contains several biographical hints.[157] Simon Atumano, who became Latin archbishop of Thebes in 1366 and played a part in the discussion concerning the union of the Churches in Constantinople in 1374, composed fourteen iambic verses in praise of John as the most admirable of Emperors and no less admirable of monks Joasaph.[158] A longer though anonymous poem in praise of John as Emperor, monk, and defender of Orthodox doctrine is to be found in thirty-two verses at the end of one of the manuscripts of John's *Sermones antirrhetici* against John Kyparissiotes.[159] Finally, in the same category may be included the lines referring to John and his wife in the metrical inscription, now lost, which once adorned the four columns of the portico of the church of St. Sophia at Mistra, built by Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 25*). John was there described as:

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[156] *Nikephoros Choumnos*: one letter to John as Grand Domestic, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* (Paris, 1844), no. 129, pp. 150–151. *Michael Gabras*: eight letters, all to John as Grand Domestic, unedited, in Cod. Marc. gr. 446, nos. 345, 365, 367, 382, 395, 403, 413, 447; A. M. Zanetti, *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manu scriptorum per titulos digesta*, I (Venice, 1740), pp. 239–242; cf. Guilland, in Greg. *Corr.*, pp. 333–335; nos. 413 and 447 (Zanetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 242) are addressed: Τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ Παλαιολόγῳ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ, and "Cantacuzeno" τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ Παλαιολόγῳ. *Nikephoros Gregoras*: twenty-two letters, all written before 1345 and addressed to John as Grand Domestic, in Greg. *Corr.*, nos. 18, 22 (ed. Bezdeki, no. 42), 23, 24, 39 (Bezdeki, no. 41), 40 (Bezdeki, no. 46), 41 (Bezdeki, no. 38), 54, 55 (Bezdeki, no. 37), 56 (Bezdeki, no. 39), 76 (Bezdeki, no. 43 bis), 77 (Bezdeki, no. 49), 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85 (Bezdeki, no. 40), 146, 147. *Theodore Hyrtakenos*: two letters to John as Grand Domestic, ed. F. J. G. La Porte-du Theil, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, VI (1800), nos. 54, 55, pp. 17–20. *Nicholas Kabasilas*: one letter addressed "to the Emperor" (probably John VI), in Nic. Kabasilas, *Corr.*, no. 17, pp. 43–44. *Demetrios Kydones*: eleven letters to John as Emperor, all written between 1345 and 1352, and one letter to John as ex-Emperor written about 1372, in Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, nos. 6–16, pp. 31–45; II, no. 400, pp. 355–356. *Manuel Raoul*: two letters to John as Emperor, both written after 1354, in Man. Raoul, *Corr.*, nos. 1 and 2; cf. Guilland, in Greg. *Corr.*, p. 311.

[157] Philes, ed. Miller, I, pp. 143–184. Philes, ed. Martini, nos. 76, 79, 80, pp. 97–108, 110–114, 114–118; ed. Miller, I, pp. 323–330. Philes also wrote four lines of flattery to John as Emperor: εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Καντακουζηνόν, ed. Miller, II, no. XV, p. 58.

[158] The poem of Simon Atumano is contained in Cod. Marc. gr. 151, fol. 208, at the end of John's four Orations against Muhammad, and also in Cod. Vat. gr. 688, fol. 102, and Cod. Escurial. gr. 103 (Σ. III. 4.), fol. 306^{r} (incipit: Ὅπλοις κραταιοῖς ἑλκύσας ζυγῷ στίφη...); Zanetti, *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca...digesta*, I, no. 151, p. 83. P. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los Codices Griegos*

ἥρως χαριτώνυμος αὐτάναξ μέγας
Καντακουζηνὸς αὐσόνων αὐτοκράτωρ
βασιλέων αἵμασιν ὡραισμένος. . . .[160]

It was during his monastic life, between the years 1354 and 1383, that John applied himself to writing his memoirs or Histories and also to the composition of a number of theological and polemical works. Of the latter only two have so far been published. One is the Prologue or *Prooemium* to the writings of the monk Christodoulos, John's pseudonym, against the heretical doctrine of Barlaam and

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de el Escorial, I (Madrid, 1936), p. 348; R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III (Vatican City, 1950), no. 688, p. 150. The full text, with a Latin translation, is printed in J. Quétif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati*, etc., I (Paris, 1719), p. 737, from L. Allacci (Allatius), *De Simeonum scriptis diatriba*, p. 203.The last five lines of the poem are cited by J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca sive Notitia scriptorum veterum Graecorum*, ed. G. C. Harles, VII (Hamburg, 1801), p. 788:

Θρυλλοῖτο νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἀπείροις τῶν χρόνων
Ὁ στρατιώτης, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ βρέμων
Καντακουζηνὸς ὡς ἄναξ Ἰωάννης,
Σεπτοῖς τε συζῶν ἁγίοις Ἰωάσαφ,
Τάξει πάσῃ γὰρ ἐξέλαμψεν ἐλλόγως.

Cf. Krumbacher, p. 300; G. Mercati, *Se la versione dell' ebraico del Codice Veneto Greco VII sia di Simone Atumano arcivescovo di Tebe* (Studi e Testi, 30 [Rome, 1916]), p. 33, who remarks on the paradox and the probable circumstances of the composition by Simon Atumano, formerly successor of Barlaam in the See of Gerace in south Italy, of verses in honor of Barlaam's vigorous opponent John Kantakouzenos.

[159] Cod. Laurent. Plut. VIII, viii. These are printed with a Latin translation in *MPG*, CLIV, 709B–710C, from A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I (Florence, 1763; reprinted Leipzig, 1961), p. 349.

[160] Text reproduced in G. Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," *BCH*, XXIII (1899), pp. 144–145.

Gregory Akindynos.[161] The other is his collection of Treatises against the Muslims, which take the form of an Apologia for the Christian faith in four chapters and four Orations against Muhammad.[162] The theological and polemical writings of John which remain to be edited are as follows:

1. Refutations (*Sermones antirrhetici*) by the monk Christodoulos of the anti-Palamite treatise in four books composed by John Kyparissiotes[163]
2. Refutations (*Antirrhetika*) of the treatise by Prochoros Kydones entitled Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας (*De essentia et operatione*), in two parts, written in Constantinople in the years 1368–1369[164]
3. Refutations of the writings of Isaac Argyros[165]
4. Treatise on the Light of Tabor, addressed to Raoul Palaiologos[166]

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[161] This is published as the Prologue to the text of the synodical Tomos of 1341, in *MPG*, CLIV, 693–700D, from Bandini, *Catalogus...Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I, pp. 342–345. Cf. Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 252–255. For the full title of this work, see *supra* in Bibliography, under Kantak. *Prooemium Tomi*.

[162] These are published under the titles of *Contra Sectam Mahometicam Apologiae IV* and *Contra Mahometem Orationes Quatuor*, in *MPG*, CLIV, 371–584, 583–692. The Latin translation used by Migne was published by Rodolphe Gaultier, *Assertio contra fidem mohammeticam* (Basel, 1543). Cf. Krumbacher, p. 106.

[163] Cod. Laurent. Plut. VIII, viii. The title and chapter headings of this work are printed in Bandini, *Catalogus...Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I, pp. 345–347, and in *MPG*, CLIV 700D–705C. For the identification of the author of the anti-Palamite treatise with John Kyparissiotes, see Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 252–255.

[164] This is contained in several manuscripts, e.g., Cod. Paris. gr. 1247, 1241, 1240; Codd. Vat. gr. 673 and 674 (the latter written at Mistra by John's copyist Manuel Tzykandyles in 1370); Cod. Mosqu. gr. 233; Cod. S. Sepulchr. Cp. 130 (Papadopoulos- Kerameus, *Hierosol. Bibl.*, IV, p. 115). See Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 4–7. Cf. the letter of Demetrios Kydones to John on this subject, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 339–400; Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 400, pp. 355–356. On Manuel Tzykandyles, who also transcribed part of Demetrios Kydones' translation of the *Summa* of Aquinas κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ κῦρ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ, see especially Sp. Lambros, Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κτίτορες κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας, *NH*, IV (1907), pp. 167–176; M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 281–282; Loenertz, *Cabasilas*, pp. 209–212; Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, pp. 150–153, 162–163, 165–166.

[165] Cod. Paris. gr. 1242, fols. 9–70; 1247, fols. 149–243. Cod. Vatoped. 347, fols. 2–82. The Prologue and the beginning of this work are printed by Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 273–275; cf. p. 232 note 2.

[166] Cod. Vat. gr. 1096, fols. 65–148. Cf. Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 210, 236–238. The Prologue and the end of a refutation of this work by an anonymous anti-Palamite are printed by Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 275–278.

5. Treatise against the Jews, in nine chapters[167]

6. Scholia on the Hesychasts[168]

7. Correspondence with the papal legate Paul, consisting of four letters of John and two of Paul.[169]

The four books of his Histories were completed in or before 1369. John himself indicates at the very end of the work that he was writing while Philotheos was still in the second term of his patriarchate (1364–1376); and the Florence manuscript of the text concludes with the words: 'Εγράφη ἐν ἔτει ,ϛωοη' ἰνδ. η'. μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ η' (6878, indiction 8, 8 December [= 1369]).[170]

The widespread belief that John, as the monk Joasaph, copied many manuscripts with his own hand, among them the sumptuous collection of his theological and polemical works contained in

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[167] This is to be found in numerous manuscripts, e.g., in the celebrated Cod. Paris. gr. 1242, fols. 293–437, which contains also John's Treatises against the Muslims, as well as his Refutations of Isaac Argyros and correspondence with the papal legate Paul. Cf. H. Omont, *Facsimiles des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IXe au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1929), pl. 95 and text; Politis, *Eine Schreiberschule*, p. 29, no. 11. Also in Codd. Marc. gr. 151 and 476; Codd. Vat. gr. 685, 686: Zanetti, *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca ... digesta*, I, pp. 183, 304; R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III (Vatican City, 1950), nos. 685, 686, pp. 146, 148; Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, no. 145, p. 167. Cod. Marc. gr. 476 (dated June 1374) and Cod. Vat. gr. 686 (dated June 1373) were copied by John Pepagomenos; another manuscript of this work (Zurich, Stadtbibliothek 170 [C 27]), was copied in March 1374 by Manuel Tzykandyles. Cf. Vogel and Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 282.

[168] Codd. Paris. gr. 1247, fol. 93v. Cf. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 412. The "Theological Chapters" addressed to the legate Paul listed as an unpublished work of John by Meyendorff, *ibid.*, have now been shown to be simply a long extract from the correspondence between John and Paul. See E. Voordeckers, "Quelques remarques sur les prétendus 'chapitres théologiques' de Jean Cantacuzène," *B*, XXXIV (1964), pp. 619–621. The two treatises against Palamas (one in five sections, the other in three) in Cod. Laurent. Plut. V, xvi, fols. 204–228, ascribed by Bandini, *Catalogus*, I, pp. 38–39, to Christodoulos (alias John-Joasaph), are really to be assigned to John Kyparissiotes; so also the nine Hymns which follow in the same manuscript (fols. 228–282), which Bandini and Ehrhard (in Krumbacher, p. 106) ascribed to John. See Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 255–256; B. L. Dentakes, "Neun unedierte Hymnen des Johannes Kyparissiotes," *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München 1958* (Munich, 1960), pp. 101–106.

[169] Codd. Paris. gr. 1241, fols. 162–226; 1242, fols. 71–119v; 1249, 2. Cf. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 412. The text of one of Paul's letters to John, asking for a more detailed explanation of the disputed points of Palamism, is printed (from Paris. gr. 1249) by Parisot, pp. 331–332, Annexe E (*incipit*: Ὑψηλότατε καὶ σοφώτατε βασιλεῦ....).

[170] Kantak. iv, 50: III, p. 363, 19 f. Cod. Laurent. Plut. IX, ix; Bandini, *Catalogus*, I, p. 404.

Codex Parisinus graecus 1242, once the property of the monastery of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria in Chalkidike, seems now to have been dispelled. The monk Joasaph in question was a celebrated copyist of the monastery τῶν ʽΟδηγῶν in Constantinople, active from the years 1360 to 1406 or 1418, long after the death of the ex-Emperor John. There is no evidence that John ever copied manuscripts himself.[171]

Finally, John has been credited with the composition of a Paraphrase of the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle or at least of the first five or six books of that work.[172] This attribution is, however, mistaken. The Paraphrase, which remains anonymous, was simply transcribed on John's commission and not composed by him. Of the several manuscripts in which the work is preserved the earliest and most complete is that in Florence, which dates partly from the fourteenth and partly from the fifteenth century. It is entitled: Ἀνωνύμου Παράφρασις τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους Ἠθικῶν Νικομαχείων (*Paraphrasis Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum Incerti Auctoris*); and at fol. 97, at the end of Book VI, there is the following subscription: τὸ βιβλίον γέγονε δι' ἐξόδου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰωάσαφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ ἐν ἔτει ,ϛωοε' μηνὸς Νοεμβρίου κδ'. ἰνδ. ε'. (= 24 November 1366).[173]

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[171] L. Politis, "Jean-Joasaph Cantacuzène fut-il copiste?", *REB*, XIV (1956), pp. 195–199. Cf. Politis, *Eine Schreiberschule*, pp. 24, 26.

[172] The attribution was accepted by Krumbacher, p. 300, and thereafter by Guilland, in Greg. *Corr.*, pp. 309–310; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 732; F. Dölger, "Johannes VI.," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, V (1960), p. 1046.

[173] Cod. Laurent. Plut. LXXX, iii; Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, cols. 173–174. Cod. Vindob. Phil. gr. 9, fols. 1–188, of the sixteenth century, contains the same Paraphrase with exactly the same subscription at fol. 106ᵛ: H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen HSS. der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I (Vienna, 1961), p. 142, who ascribes it tentatively to Heliodorus of Prusa. Cf. G. Heylbut, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XIX, 2 (Berlin, 1889) (*Heliodori in Ethica Nicomachea Paraphrasis*), who edited it from the Paris manuscripts, listing most of the other manuscripts in which it appears under the names of Andronicus of Rhodes, Olympiodorus, or Anonymus. Among them, all of the sixteenth century, are Codd. Ambros. gr. 468 (I 95 sup.) and 818 (A 195 inf.) (cf. Ae. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, I, no. 468, pp. 561–562; II, no. 818, p. 913); Cod. Monacensis gr. LXXVII (cf. I. Hardt, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, I [Munich, 1806], p. 456); Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 19060, which is described as: *Josaph* (scil. *Iohannis*) *Cantacuzeni Paraphrasis in Aristotelis Ethicorum Nicomacheorum libros*

The coinage of the reign of John VI as Emperor has yet to receive a comprehensive study. Sufficient examples have already been identified and published, however, to enable some tentative conclusions to be stated. The larger number of pieces, minted either in Constantinople or in Thessalonike, are bronze, concave or flat; but there are a few silver coins and one gold hyperpyron. Most show the Emperors John VI and John V standing side by side, each holding with one hand the staff of a cross centrally placed between them. The senior Emperor is represented as elderly and bearded, and in some but not all examples he stands in the place of honor on the left of the observer and grasps the stem of the cross noticeably higher up than his young colleague, who is shown as a beardless youth. The gold hyperpyron shows the two Emperors, both bearded, with the figure of Christ between them holding a hand above each head. The seniority of one John over the other is marked only by the comparative length and shape of their beards; John V is in the place of honor. The obverse bears a bust of the Virgin within a circle of the walls of Constantinople. These coins depicting the two Emperors must all have been minted in the period between 1347 and 1353.[174] The few examples of coins showing John VI alone must belong to the period between the rebellion of John V in the early part of 1353 and his entry into Constantinople in November 1354. They depict the Emperor standing beside St. Demetrios and are

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(cf. M. Richard, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum*, I [Paris, 1952], no. 19060, p. 32). But see R. A. Gauthier and J. Y. Jolif, *L'Éthique à Nicomaque. Introduction, traduction et commentaire*, I (Louvain, 1958), p. 70*.

[174] See especially T. Bertelè, "Monete dell'imperatore Giovanni VI Cantacuzeno," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, VIII, 1 (*Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, I) (Belgrade, 1963), pp. 43–59; *idem*, "L'iperpero bizantino dal 1261 al 1453," *Rivista italiana di numismatica*, V (1957), pl. II, 2 and p. 76 (an unpublished, flat, silver coin of John VI and John V almost identical with this exists in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection [fig. 7]). Cf. H. Longuet, "Le monnayage de Jean VI Cantacuzène," *Revue numismatique*, 4th ser., XXXVI (1933), pp. 135–148 (who maintains the unlikely hypothesis that the Emperor John who figures on the coinage of the Empress Anne of Savoy is John V when he occupies the position of honor beside the Empress and John VI when he holds the subordinate position on her left. Cf. Bertelè, "Monete dell'imperatore Giovanni," *loc. cit.*, pp. 57–59); *idem*, "Une monnaie de Jean V Paléologue et Jean VI Cantacuzène," *Revue numismatique*, 5th ser., VI (1942), pp. 111–116; *idem*, "Une trouvaille de monnaies des Paléologues," *Revue belge de numismatique* (1960), pp. 243–266; *idem*, *Introduction à la numismatique byzantine* (Spinks, London, 1961), p. 122 and note 102. S. Dimitrijević,

virtually identical, except for the legend, with similar coins of Andronikos III; on the obverse is the figure of the enthroned Christ.[175]

One gold seal of John VI has survived. It is in the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos and is dated to 1351. It portrays the Emperor standing alone, with the legend:

ʼΙωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ αὐτοκράτορ ὁ Καντακουσινός.

The obverse has the figure of the enthroned Christ.[176]

Contemporary portraits of John exist in the collection of his theological works in Codex Parisinus graecus 1242, fols. 5 and 123, dated between 1370 and 1375. The first shows him presiding as Emperor over the council in the church of the Blachernai in 1351; the second depicts him in his dual role of Emperor and monk (figs. 5 and 6).[177] Both portraits designate him as:

ʼΙω(άννης) ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ
ʽΡωμαίων Παλεολόγος ʼΆγγελος ὁ Καντακουζηνός.

A fifteenth- or sixteenth-century portrait of John as Emperor, flanked by portraits of Andronikos III and John V Palaiologos, is to be seen in a manuscript in Modena.[178]

"Zajednički novac careva Jovana V Paleologa i Jovana VI Kantakuzina," *Zbornik Radova*, VIII, 2 (*Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, II) (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 47–52 (a silver coin showing both Emperors, labelled "Palaiologos" and "Kantakouzenos." The author, who detects Serbian influence in the obverse figure of Christ in the mandorla, seems to have been unaware of the work of T. Bertelè on the coinage of John VI and claims that this coin is "the only known piece of John Kantakouzenos").

[175] Bertelè, "Monete dell'imperatore Giovanni," *loc. cit.*, no. 15, pp. 53–55 and pl. iv, 15. A very similar silver coin of John VI, unpublished, is in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (fig. 8).

[176] Dölger, *Schatzk.*, p. 327, no. 119, 1.

[177] These portraits have been reproduced many times. See, e.g., H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI*^{e} *au XIV*^{e} *siècles* (Paris, 1929), pp. 58–59, pls. cxxvi, 1 and cxxvii, 2.

[178] Biblioteca Estense, Cod. α S. 5. 5 (= Gr. 122), fol. 299^v. Cf. Sp. Lambros, ʽΗ ἐν ʽΡώμῃ ἔκθεσις τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτοκρατόρων τοῦ Βυζαντίου, *NH*, VII (1910), p. 405, no. 108; reproduced in S. P. Lambros, Λεύκωμα βυζαντινῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων (Athens, 1930), pl. 91. A fresco in the nave of the church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike shows John (as the monk Joasaph) together with Gregory Palamas. Cf., e.g., G. I. Theocharides, Τοπογραφία καὶ Πολιτικὴ ʽΙστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ΙΔʹ αἰῶνα (Thessalonike, 1959), p. 47; A. Xyngopoulos, ʽΗ βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης (Thessalonike, 1946), p. 50; G. A. and M. Soteriou, ʽΗ βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης (Athens, 1952), p. 211 and pl. 81a.

No. 23

EIRENE ASENINA KANTAKOUZENE, Empress of Constantinople, 1347–1354

Eirene Asenina, the wife and Empress of John VI Kantakouzenos, was the elder daughter of Andronikos Palaiologos Asen, second son of John III Asen of Bulgaria and Eirene Palaiologina. She had two brothers, John Asen and Manuel Raoul Asen, each of whom held the title of *sebastokrator*. John married a daughter of Alexios Apokaukos; Manuel married Anna, daughter of Theodore Synadenos the *protostrator*. Eirene had also a sister called Helena.[1]

The date of her marriage to John Kantakouzenos cannot be accurately determined, but it certainly took place before 1320, since John himself says that he left his wife in Kallioupolis when he went to Constantinople in that year. Their eldest son Matthew celebrated his own marriage early in 1341 when he was perhaps no more than sixteen years of age (see *No. 24*).[2]

Eirene was proclaimed *basilis* at the time of her husband's proclamation as Emperor in Didymoteichos in October 1341. Due to her efforts her two brothers, John and Manuel Asen, who had been imprisoned in Thrace since 1335 on a charge of treason, were liberated and secured as supporters of the cause of Kantakouzenos; and when John VI set out for Thessalonike in March 1342 he took with him his brother-in-law John Asen as well as his sons Matthew and Manuel, leaving Eirene in Didymoteichos with her three daughters, Maria, Theodora, and Helena. Manuel Asen was appointed commander-in-chief of the defenses of the city. There Eirene remained throughout her husband's ineffectual campaigns in Macedonia and his sojourns in Serbia.[3]

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[1] For Andronikos Asen, see Uspenskij, *Bolgarskie Asenevič̆i*, pp. 7–9; Papadopulos, no. 46. For his daughter Helena, not mentioned by Papadopulos, see Philes, ed. Miller, I, pp. 307–309; ed. Martini, no. 67, pp. 88–90.

[2] Kantak. i, 4: I, p. 24, 15–17: Καντακουζηνὸς δ' ὁ μέγας δομέστικος τῆς πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου φερούσης εἴχετο, τὴν σύνευνον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Καλλίου πόλει. Cf. I, p. 24, 23–25. Martini, in his note on Philes' Ode to the Grand Domestic (no. 79, p. 111), sets the date of the marriage at about 1318, when John was still *megas papias*.

[3] Greg. xi, 2: II, p. 534, 2; xii, 16: II, pp. 624–626, 626, 8–9. Kantak. iii, 17: II, pp. 111–112; iii, 27: II, p. 166, 14; iii, 32: II, p. 195, 4 f.; iii, 46–47: II, pp. 281, 20–287, 22. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 38, pp. 336, 343.

Toward the end of 1342, in despair, Eirene made a defensive treaty of her own with John Alexander of Bulgaria, which the Bulgars quickly exploited to their own profit. The situation was saved by the unexpected arrival at the mouth of the Marica River and subsequently at Didymoteichos of Umur, the Seljuq emir of Aydin. He brought with him a large fleet and army but he failed to get through to Eirene's husband, largely owing to the severity of the winter, and sailed back to Asia Minor.[4] Eirene continued to defend Didymoteichos as best she could until her husband, with the help of Umur, succeeded in making his way back to Didymoteichos in the winter of 1343. Her courageous conduct impressed many of her contemporaries, among them Umur himself and also Nikephoros Gregoras.[5]

In May 1346 her husband crowned her as his Empress "in the traditional manner" after his own coronation at Adrianople by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. In the summer of the same year Eirene was present at Selymbria with her two other daughters Maria and Helena for the wedding of her daughter Theodora to the Osmanli emir Orchan.[6]

When John VI entered Constantinople in February 1347 Eirene and her daughters were in Adrianople, but he sent for her soon afterward to bring Helena to the capital for her betrothal to John V Palaiologos. In May 1347 John again placed the crown upon her head as his Empress, and the coronation ceremony was followed by the marriage of her daughter Helena to the young John V.[7] Eirene loyally upheld her husband's policy of recognizing the Dowager-Empress Anne and her son John as co-Emperors; and later in the year she travelled to Adrianople to reason with and restrain her eldest son Matthew when he was persuaded to right the wrongs supposedly done to him as a result of this policy. She returned to the capital to find that her youngest son Andronikos had died of the plague.

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[4] Greg. xiii, 4: II, pp. 648–653. Kantak. iii, 56: II, pp. 336, 17–339, 25; iii, 56–57: II, pp. 345–348. Doukas vii, 1–2: pp. 51–53 (Grecu). Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, p. 150.

[5] Greg. xiv, 1: II, pp. 692–693, 17. Kantak. iii, 57: II, p. 349, 15; iii, 65: II, p. 401, 10; pp. 401–405.

[6] Kantak. iii, 92: II, p. 564, 18; iii, 95: II, pp. 587–589.

[7] Greg. xv, 11: II, pp. 787–788, 788, 9. Kantak. iv, 1: III, p. 11, 15–17; iv, 4: III, p. 29, 6.

Gregoras out of his piety convinced her that her son's death was the judgement of God for her adherence to the blasphemous doctrine of Palamas and so frightened her that she temporarily reverted to the anti-Palamite position.[8]

In the following year 1348 she was left in charge of Constantinople, with her son Manuel acting as *epitropos*, and negotiated with Genoese ambassadors from Galata as well as seeing to the defense of the city against the attacks of the Genoese fleet until her husband returned.[9]

In the spring of 1352 Eirene went at her husband's request to Didymoteichos to try to resolve the differences that had arisen between her son Matthew and John V Palaiologos. With her went Philotheos, then Bishop of Herakleia, Metrophanes, Bishop of Melnik, and John Philes. Her mission proved unsuccessful.[10]

Once again Eirene manfully organized the defense of Constantinople during the absence of her husband when, in March 1353, John V Palaiologos sailed in from Tenedos and appeared before the walls. His hopes of effecting a surprise entry into the city were thwarted by Eirene's prompt action.[11]

When John V finally succeeded in entering Constantinople in November 1354 Eirene dutifully accepted her husband's decision to submit without a fight; and in December she agreed that John V should move into the palace and that she and her husband should both abdicate. She then retired to the convent of Kyra Martha and became a nun with the name of Eugenia.[12]

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[8] Greg. xvi, 3: II, pp. 805, 2–813, 6 (Gregoras invents a very long-winded speech for Eirene on this occasion). Kantak. iv, 7: III, p. 46, 18; iv, 8: III, pp. 48, 16–49, 15. Greg, xvi, 5: II, pp. 825–826.

[9] Greg. xvii, 1–2: II, pp. 845–850.

[10] Greg. xxvii, 31–35: III, pp. 152–171. Kantak. iv, 32–33: III, pp. 239–241. Cf. Parisot, pp. 313–320; *DR*, V, no. 2989. It is apparently to this mission that Demetrios Kydones alludes in his letter to an ambassador of John Kantakouzenos in Thrace in the spring of 1352. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 64, pp. 96–98.

[11] Greg. xxviii, 18–19: III, pp. 187–188. Kantak. iv, 35: III, p. 255, 13 f. Cf. Parisot, pp. 277–279.

[12] Greg. xxix, 30: III, pp. 243–244. Kantak. iv, 39: III, p. 285, 9; iv, 41: III, p. 305, 12 f.; iv, 42: III, p. 307, 7–13. Parisot, whose admiration for Eirene is proportionate to his scorn for the feebleness of her husband, would have her reproach him with the following words when leaving the palace for her convent: "If I had guarded Didymoteichos as you have guarded Constantinople we should have said our farewells twelve years ago" (Parisot, p. 298). Kantak. iv, 16: III, p. 106, 18 f., claims that Eirene shared his intention to enter the monastic life at least as early as 1351. Her name as the

In 1356 and 1357 she rejected the offer of Ziani (Zeianos), ringleader of a plot to effect the release of her son Matthew, then imprisoned by John V, and reinstate him as Emperor.[13]

In 1359 she was joined in her convent by her daughter Maria, recently widowed of her husband Nikephoros of Epiros, and also by her granddaughter Theodora, the eldest daughter of Matthew Kantakouzenos.[14] She seems to have accompanied her husband and her son Matthew to the Peloponnese in 1361 and to have returned to Constantinople in 1362 or 1363. She is presumably to be numbered among the "Empresses" whom the ambassadors from Trebizond met in Constantinople in April 1363.[15]

The date of Eirene's death is not told, but it probably occurred before 1379 when her husband and other members of her family were taken to Galata as hostages by Andronikos IV.[16] Kantakouzenos allows himself a measure of praise for Eirene's courage and intelligence.[17] But it is Nikephoros Gregoras who goes out of his way to extol her virtues and the strength of her character; and on more than one occasion Gregoras, perhaps to contrast the weakness and indecision of John VI, emphasizes the manner in which Eirene played the role of Justinian's Theodora by strengthening the resolve or boosting the morale of her husband.[18]

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nun Eugenia occurs in a manuscript in Koutloumousiou Monastery listing the names of several deceased Emperors and Empresses, including John VI. Politis, *Eine Schreiberschule*, p. 274.

[13] Kantak. iv, 47: III, pp. 341–345, 20. Cf. Parisot, pp. 306–307.

[14] Kantak. iv, 44: III, p. 319, 18–20; iv, 45: III, p. 331, 15–18.

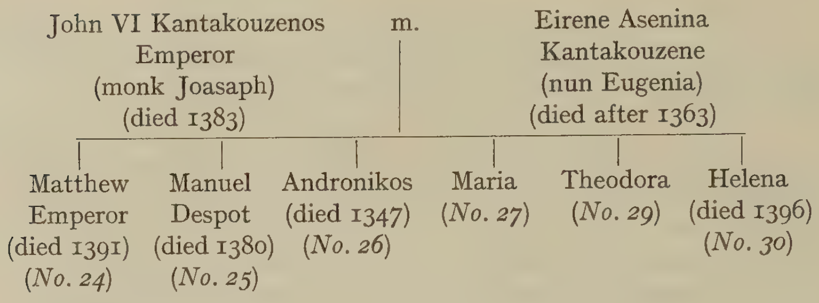
[15] Kantak. iv, 49: III, p. 358, 10 (Kantakouzenos sailed to the Peloponnese πανοικεσίᾳ). Panaretos, 32–33: p. 284 (Lambros); p. 74, 30 (Lampsides). Philes, ed. Miller, I, no. 120, p. 311, composed an invocation on the part of the *panhypersebastos* Eirene to St. Athanasia, imploring the saint to cure "the Kral" of his illness. Miller identified this Eirene with the wife of John Kantakouzenos, but she might more readily be identified with Eirene Metochitissa, the wife of the *panhypersebastos* John Palaiologos (later Caesar) whose daughter married Stephen Uroš III Dečanski in 1326. Cf. Papadopulos, no. 38; Philes, ed. Martini, p. 137.

[16] See under John Kantakouzenos (*No. 22*), p. 91.

[17] See, e.g., Kantak. iii, 56: II, p. 336, 20: Εἰρήνη, καὶ μεῖζον ἐπιδειξαμένη ἢ κατὰ γυναικεῖον φρόνημα.... Kantak. iv, 49: III, p. 49, 5–7: ἦν γὰρ οὐ συνετὴ μόνον καὶ δεινὴ χρήσασθαι πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μεταποιῆσαι, ᾗ ἐβούλετο....

[18] See, e.g., Greg. xii, 16: II, p. 625, 10–18: ἡ βασιλὶς Εἰρήνη, πολλὴν πλουτοῦσα τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ τοσούτῳ νικῶσα τῇ τῶν φρενῶν ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς ὀξύτητι, ὅσον ἐν γυναιξὶ τῷ κράτει τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῇ τῶν ἠθῶν ἁρμονίᾳ.... φρόνημα γὰρ αὐτοφυές τε καὶ αὐτοχάλκευτον εἰπεῖν κεκτημένη

THE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS


John VI Kantakouzenos
Emperor
(monk Joasaph)
(died 1383)
m.
Eirene Asenina
Kantakouzene
(nun Eugenia)
(died after 1363)
Matthew
Emperor
(died 1391)
(*No. 24*)
Manuel
Despot
(died 1380)
(*No. 25*)
Andronikos
(died 1347)
(*No. 26*)
Maria
(*No. 27*)
Theodora
(*No. 29*)
Helena
(died 1396)
(*No. 30*)

Nos. 24–27, 29–30

THE OFFSPRING OF JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS AND EIRENE KANTAKOUZENE

No. 24

MATTHEW ASEN KANTAKOUZENOS, Emperor (*ca.* 1325–1391)

Matthew was the eldest son of John VI and Eirene. He was born not earlier than about 1325.[1] He married Eirene Palaiologina, daughter of the Despot Demetrios Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II. The wedding took place in Thessalonike early in 1341.[2]

ἔμπρακτον παρεῖχε τῷ συζύγῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ μεγίστην ἐν τοιαύταις γενομένῳ ταῖς περιστάσεσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ πᾶν αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας αὕτη κεχάρισται κράτος, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ μάλα δήπου σφόδρα γε τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος. Cf. Greg. xiv, 1: II, pp. 692, 21–693, 17; xvi, 3: II, p. 805, 16–23.

[1] General accounts of the career of Matthew are given by R. Guilland in Greg. *Corr.*, pp. 313–316, and Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 114–117. He cannot have been born "toward the end of the thirteenth century" as Guilland suggests, since his parents were not married until about 1318; and in 1343 Kantak. describes his two sons, Matthew and Manuel, as "not yet having reached man's estate." Kantak. iii, 58: II, p. 359, 7: μήπω τὴν μειρακικὴν ὑπερβάντες ἡλικίαν.

[2] Kantak. ii, 38: I, p. 534, 19–535, 1: κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χειμῶνα καὶ οἱ Ματθαίου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ, τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου πρώτου υἱοῦ, ἐτελοῦντο γάμοι ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. ἔγημε γὰρ τὴν Δημητρίου τοῦ δεσπότου θυγατέρα, ὃς ἦν βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Παλαιολόγων παῖς. τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν γάμων πολυτελῶν τε καὶ περιφανεστάτων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἤδη περὶ ἐκβολὰς ἦν, παρεσκευάζετο βασιλεὺς ὡς εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐπανήξων. For Eirene and her father Demetrios, see Papadopulos, nos. 63, 64. The date of Matthew's wedding is given as "Anfang des Jahres 1340" by Papadopulos (no. 64, p. 41 and note 64) as against Martini (Philes, ed. Martini, p. 111) and Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, p. 102, who proposed 1341 and 1339 respectively. But "the winter" in question seems without doubt to have been that of 1340–1341, and its end

When the civil war broke out in October 1341 Eirene, who was then in Constantinople, was placed under house arrest together with her mother-in-law. At that time Matthew was in camp with some of his father's troops in the district of Morra and Rhodope in Thrace, whence he was summoned to be present at his father's acclamation as Emperor at Didymoteichos in October 1341. He and his younger brother Manuel (*No. 25*) accompanied their father when he set out with his army from Didymoteichos for Thessalonike in March 1342 and on his visit to Chreles, the Serbian lord of Strumica.[3] In 1343 his father appointed Matthew to take command of Koumoutzena (Komotine) and other fortresses in Thrace which had come over to his side in the district then known as Chalkidike, including Gratianoupolis, which Matthew had soon to defend against the raids of his father's late ally the Bulgarian adventurer Momčilo.[4]

After his coronation as Emperor at Adrianople on 21 May 1346 John VI declined to yield to the request of his officers that he should nominate Matthew as his heir by proclaiming him *basileus*. Matthew was then left in charge of the defense of Adrianople and campaigned successfully against an army led by Hierax which had been sent out from Constantinople.[5]

In May 1347, following his entry into Constantinople, John VI was crowned Emperor for a second time. Some while afterward he held an investiture in the palace. His younger son Manuel and his son-in-law Nikephoros were created Despots; his wife's brothers John and Manuel Asen were each given the title of *sebastokrator*. Matthew, however, as his eldest son, was accorded a special dignity. "The Emperor did not honour Matthew with any rank by title but granted him an honorary position above that of Despots and immediately below that of Emperor, the honour which the first Palaiologos Emperor Michael had devised for his son Constantine

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(ἐκβολάς) was coincident with the departure of Andronikos III from Thessalonike for Constantinople early in 1341. Cf. Parisot, p. 143 note 3; Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 352–353; R.-J. Loenertz, "Notes d'histoire et de chronologie byzantine," *REB*, XVII (1959), p. 162.

[3] Kantak. iii, 22, 26: II, pp. 136, 20; 161, 9–17; iii, 32: II, p. 195, 21; iii, 38: II, p. 232, 21. Greg. xii, 16: II, p. 628, 5.

[4] Kantak. iii, 67–68: II, pp. 415–418; iii, 69: II, p. 427, 5; iii, 71: II, p. 437, 3.

[5] Kantak. iii, 92: II, pp. 565–568; iii, 94: II, p. 582, 6 f.

Porphyrogennetos, to indicate a rank somewhat more exalted than that of Despot."[6]

But Matthew soon found that there were those among his father's relatives and supporters in Adrianople who felt that he had been cheated of his rights at the recent investiture and that he was entitled to the greater dignity of Emperor as the legitimate heir to the throne. Some of them, led by John Asen, Matthew's uncle, urged him to bring pressure to bear on his father by declaring himself independent ruler of the parts of Thrace which he had been set to govern. Matthew allowed himself to be persuaded that he had been unjustly overlooked in favor of John V Palaiologos and, toward the end of 1347, established his own principality in Adrianople and Didymoteichos, though remaining nominally subject to his father. John VI in despair sent his wife Eirene to Adrianople to reason with her favorite son, and Matthew was induced to see the folly of his unilateral action. Eirene also took the occasion to chastise John Asen and her other relatives who had precipitated the revolt. According to Gregoras, John VI himself then went to Didymoteichos to meet Matthew and settle the matter; and it was agreed that Matthew should rule the part of Thrace from Didymoteichos to the suburbs of Christoupolis as his appanage for life, invested with all the symbols of a rank and dignity higher than all others but below those of Emperor.[7]

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[6] Kantak. iv, 5: III, p. 33, 4–9: Ματθαῖον δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον υἱὸν ἀξίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς ὀνομαστὶ ἠξίου, τιμὴν δὲ παρεῖχε τὴν ὑπὲρ δεσπότας, ὡς εὐθὺς εἶναι μετὰ βασιλέα, ἣν ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Παλαιολόγων βασιλέων Μιχαὴλ ἐκαινοτόμησεν ἐπὶ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Πορφυρογεννήτῳ, ἣ ἐδόκει πλέον τι τῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀξίας ἔχειν. Doukas x, 3: p. 65, 4–5 (Grecu); p. 38, 22 (*CSHB*), says that Matthew was created Despot. Cf. Florinskij, pp. 5–6.

[7] Kantak. iv, 7–8: III, pp. 47–49. Greg. xvi, 2–5: II, pp. 798–819. Gregoras' account of this affair is longer and more circumstantial than that of Kantak. himself, who is perhaps naturally reticent about it. Cf. Parisot, pp. 223–225; Florinskij, p. 5. The dating of Matthew's revolt before the end of 1347 seems determined by the date of the death of the ex-Patriarch John Kalekas, whom Matthew's father removed from Didymoteichos to Constantinople at this time. Kalekas died on 29 December 1347. Cod. Vat. gr. 778, fol. 1^r; Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 202 note 1, 228 note 1. For the extent and significance of Matthew's Thracian appanage, see Lemerle, *Philippes*, p. 200 and note 3. It has been observed that the words put into John VI's mouth by Gregoras when praising Matthew as guardian of the Empire's frontier against the Serbs (*loc. cit.*, pp. 815–819) are apparently the same as those originally written by the future Patriarch Philotheos in the spring of 1352, enumerating the territories lost and the few cities remaining to Byzantium at that time. Philotheos, Ἐπιστολή, ἤτοι ὁμιλία πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρακλειώτας, ed. C. Triantafillis and A. Grapputo, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus manu scriptis Bibliothecae S. Marci*

Nicholas Kabasilas, in his Panegyric of Matthew, recapitulates Matthew's career up to the year 1354, praising his filial piety and obedience, not least at the moment when his father, having overcome his enemies, then lavished his philanthropy and bounty upon them by "granting them the sceptre," thus relegating his own eldest son to a secondary position (τὸ δεύτερον τῆς βασιλείας ἔχοντα σχῆμα). He recalls how Matthew, who might naturally have been vexed with a father who appeared to esteem his enemies more than his own son, accepted the situation and came to terms with him.[8] Somewhat similar sentiments were expressed by Demetrios Kydones in his letter to an envoy of John VI in Thrace in the spring of 1352.[9]

Matthew, however, continued to serve his father loyally for another four years. In the spring of 1348 he was given command of the army that was to invade Serbia in company with a Turkish force of 10,000 troops led by Suleiman, son of the Emir Orchan. This expedition got no further than Philippi, where the Turks ran amok on a plundering foray and went home with all their loot.[10] Later in the year he complemented his father's victory over a raiding party of Turkish cavalry in Thrace by defeating an army of Turkish footsoldiers. John VI congratulated his son on his heroism in fighting off his assailants when unhorsed in the fray; and Gregoras speaks highly of Matthew's prowess on this occasion both in his History and in a letter of compliment that he wrote to him at the time.[11]

(Venice, 1874), p. 43. Cf. I. Ševčenko, "The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of Its Intellectuals," *DOP*, 15 (1961), p. 173.

[8] Nic. Kabasilas, *Panegyrics*, p. 115, p. 116, 14: ἀλλ' ἐσπένδετο μὲν μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἠγάπα δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι. Cf. M. Jugie, "L'éloge de Mathieu Cantacuzène par Nicolas Cabasilas," *EO*, XIII (1910), pp. 338–343.

[9] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 64, p. 97, 42–48: . . . ὧν τε πρὶν πέπονθεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν τῆς περὶ ταῦτα μεγαλοψυχίας ἐνόμισεν ἰσχυρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ υἱὸν ἠξίου καλεῖν δι' ὃν πολλάκις τῆς τελευτῆς ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ὃ πάντας ἐκπλήττει, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα δέδωκε μένειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοσούτων ὅσων αὐτὸς βασιλεύειν. καὶ ταῦθ' – ὃ τίς ἂν πιστεύσειε; – υἱέων ὄντων αὐτῷ, οἷς εἰ καὶ μηδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν τῆς ἀρχῆς τι προσῆκε, τὸ γοῦν τῆς φύσεως αὐτὸ μόνον δικαίως ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἐκάλει. ὁ δ' οὕτως αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων προὐτίθει, ὥσθ' ὧν τούτοις οὐ μετεδίδου ταῦθ' ὅπως ἔσται τούτῳ κύρια παντ' ἐποίει.

[10] Kantak. iv, 4: III, p. 32, 10 f.

[11] Kantak. iv, 10: III, pp. 66, 15–67, 8. Greg. xvi, 7: II, pp. 835–839. Greg. *Corr.*, no. 152, pp. 236–243.

In the autumn of 1350 Matthew accompanied a contingent of Turkish troops sent across by Orchan to assist in the capture of Thessalonike. They were led by Orchan's eldest son Suleiman. Suleiman, however, received orders from his father to return to Asia Minor and Matthew, unable to advance on his own, had to withdraw and disband his Greek army.[12]

Matthew might have continued to promote his father's interests without complaint, but in 1351 the supporters of John V Palaiologos, aided and abetted by Stephen Dušan, incited him to revolution, and to avert the threat of renewed civil war John VI consented to the young Emperor's request that part of the appanage of Matthew should be made over to him together with the coastal city of Ainos.[13] Relationships between Matthew and John V were thereafter understandably strained. Matthew established himself in Adrianople in the autumn of 1351 and when his father summoned him to Constantinople in the spring of 1352 he procrastinated. John V was meanwhile allowed to go and take over the Thracian cities allotted to him, to which Didymoteichos had now been added for good measure. Once again the Empress Eirene was sent as peacemaker to reconcile the differences between her son and son-in-law; it was proposed that John V should reside in Didymoteichos and Matthew in Adrianople. Backed though she was by the moral force of two bishops who accompanied her, Eirene failed to persuade John V to sign any kind of agreement with Matthew; and as soon as she was gone he attacked Adrianople. Matthew with his uncle Nikephoros Kantakouzenos (*No. 34*) sent urgent messages to John VI to say that they were besieged in the citadel. John VI had to hurry north to relieve his son, and civil war broke out again in earnest.[14]

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[12] Kantak. iv, 17: III, pp. 114, 13–116, 11. Doukas, x, 5: p. 65, 18–21 (Grecu); p. 39, 17–20 (*CSHB*), states that Matthew killed Orchan's son Suleiman.

[13] Kantak. iv, 27: III, pp. 200–209; p. 208, 14–18: . . . Αἶνον δὲ ἠτεῖτο παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦ κηδεστοῦ καὶ τὰς τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεις, ἃς Ματθαῖος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸς εἶχεν, ὥστε αὐτῷ ἰδίαν ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι, πάντα μέντοι αὖθις ὑπείκειν βασιλεῖ τῷ κηδεστῇ. Greg. xxvi, 26–32: III, pp. 92–99. Cf. Loenertz, *Cabasilas*, pp. 216–220.

[14] Kantak. iv, 32–33: III, pp. 238–247. Greg. xxvii, 29–55: III, pp. 150–172; xxviii, 2: III, pp. 177–178. Cf. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 64, pp. 96–98.

In October 1352 the Patriarch Kallistos made a fruitless attempt to mediate; and John VI, whose Turkish allies drove back the Serbian troops who had come to the support of John Palaiologos, then vainly sent his nephew Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 36*) to negotiate. By the end of the year, however, John V had been reduced to accepting a settlement, abandoning his Thracian principality and moving over to the island of Tenedos with his wife Helena and their second son Manuel early in 1353.[15]

In March 1353, while John VI was away from the city, John V tried to force his way into Constantinople from Tenedos. The attempt was a failure. But it was this event which finally prompted John VI to yield to the persistent demands of his senators and officers in the capital that Matthew should be recognized as Emperor and heir to the throne, despite the opposition of the Patriarch Kallistos who threatened to resign.[16] The proclamation of Matthew as co-Emperor took place in the palace in Constantinople probably in April 1353. His name was thenceforth to be substituted for that of John Palaiologos in the acclamations of the Emperors and in the ecclesiastical commemorations; though the names of Anne the Empress, John's mother, and of John's child by Helena Kantakouzene, the young Andronikos, were still to be commemorated. Matthew then returned to Adrianople. Thus, in the words of John VI, did the war between the Emperors reach the point at which, albeit against his will, he was forced to declare his son Matthew to be Emperor.[17]

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[15] Kantak. iv, 34: III, pp. 247–254. Greg. xxviii, 4–8: III, pp. 178–182. Cf. Parisot, pp. 270–276.

[16] Kantak. iv, 35–36: III, pp. 255–269. Greg. xxviii, 18: III, pp. 187–188. Loenertz, *Chron. Vat.*, no. 9, p. 207.

[17] Kantak. iv, 37: III, pp. 269–270; pp. 269, 21–270, 2: ἐκ τοιούτων μὲν αἰτιῶν ὁ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν βασιλέων ἐκινήθη πόλεμος καὶ ηὔξητο ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς καὶ Καντακουζηνὸν τὸν βασιλέα, καίτοι πρότερον ὅλῃ γνώμῃ παρεσκευασμένον τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον τὸν νέον καταλείπειν Ἰωάννην, ἠναγκάσθαι καὶ Ματθαῖον τὸν υἱὸν ἀποδεικνύειν βασιλέα. Greg. xxviii, 19: III, pp. 188–189. Greg. (*loc. cit.*, p. 188, 23–189, 2) says that John VI returned to Constantinople ten days after John V's expedition from Tenedos (i.e., on 27 March) and that Matthew's proclamation followed soon afterward: βραχὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐῤῥύη χρόνος, καὶ Ματθαῖος ὁ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ υἱὸς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος βασιλεὺς ἐν παλατίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἀναγορεύεται. Καὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐν τούτοις ἐτελεύτα. Elsewhere Kantak. (iv, 39: III, pp. 280, 19–281, 6) gives a slightly different version of his motives in proclaiming Matthew co-Emperor, apparently adducing the Turkish settlements in Thrace as a pretext. But these did not become serious threats until

Matthew's coronation did not take place, however, until ten months later, in February 1354, since the Patriarch Kallistos preferred to resign rather than sanction what he considered to be an illegal act. Not until November 1353 was a new Patriarch elected in his place in the person of Philotheos, late Bishop of Herakleia. Matthew then came to the capital from Adrianople and the crown was placed on his head by Philotheos, assisted by John VI, in the church of the Virgin in Blachernai in February 1354. Matthew then crowned his wife Eirene as Empress in the customary manner.[18]

Very soon afterward Matthew was sent by his father to try to persuade Nikephoros Gregoras to forsake his theological prejudices and return to public life. Gregoras gives a long account of their conversations in his place of confinement.[19]

In the late summer of 1354 John VI sailed to the island of Tenedos to attempt to reach a settlement with his son-in-law John V. He

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after the great earthquake in March 1354, thus, after Matthew had already been crowned. Kantak. here states that it had been his idea to give Matthew a portion of the imperial domain "severed" from the Empire to rule independently for life as Emperor. This at his death would not pass to his heir but revert either to John V as "true Emperor of the Romans" or, if he were dead, to Andronikos.

[18] Kantak. iv, 37–38: III, pp. 270–276, 2. Greg. xxviii, 43: III, p. 204. Chalk. i: p. 37, 13 (*CSHB*). These events are analysed by Parisot, pp. 276–282. The date of Matthew's coronation is known from the *horismos* appended to the text of the Tomos of the Council of 1351, which was added in February 1354, with his signature as: Ματθαῖος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων Ἀσάνης ὁ Καντακουζηνός. P. Lemerle, "Le tomos du concile de 1351 et l'horismos de Matthieu Cantacuzène," in Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 58–59. Cf. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 150 and note 112; *DR*, V, no. 3014; Loenertz, *Cabasilas*, p. 213. For the Panegyric on Matthew composed for this occasion by Nicholas Kabasilas and edited by M. Jugie, see *supra*, note 8. P. Lemerle, *op. cit.*, p. 63 note 1, condemns this composition as a work which is "d'une rhétorique et d'une flagornerie insupportable, et n'a pas d'intérêt historique." Kabasilas, however, clearly distinguishes the proclamation of Matthew from his coronation. Nic. Kabasilas, *Panegyrics*, pp. 116, 30–117, 5: Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἦν ἡ ψῆφος ἐπιθυμούντων εὐτυχῆσαι, νῦν δέ σοι Θεὸς αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ἱερέων τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρίζει ... καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐστεφάνωσε κορυφὴν πολλῷ πρότερον τῷ κύκλῳ τῶν ἀρετῶν κοσμηθεῖσαν, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σύμβολον ἀρχῆς τὴν ταινίαν εἶναι, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν πραγμάτων ἀρχήν· σοὶ δέ, βέλτιστε βασιλέων, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ πρό γε τοῦτο, τῆς περὶ τοὺς γονέας καὶ περὶ Θεὸν εὐσεβείας τεκμήριον ἐναργές....

[19] Greg. xxviii, 44–46: III, pp. 204–220. This event occurred between the coronation and the earthquake that devastated the coast of Thrace "a few days afterwards" (Greg. xxviii, 67–68: III, pp. 220, 19–222), which is known to have taken place on 2 March 1354. Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 15, p. 31, 10–11; no. 52, p. 89, 22–25. Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 347–349. Cf. Kantak. iv, 38: III, p. 277, 12 f.

took with him Matthew and his wife who were to disembark at Ainos and thence proceed to Adrianople. Nothing came of this enterprise, though John V later claimed that he had refused to negotiate because his rival Matthew had been among those present.[20]

On 22 November 1354 John V succeeded in entering Constantinople by night. By terms of the agreement made with John VI two days later, Matthew was to remain for life autonomous ruler of Adrianople and the Rhodope area of Thrace, reigning in the style of an Emperor, and John V was never to wage war against him over the possession of these places. But even John V did not expect this arrangement to last; and after the abdication of John VI on 10 December 1354 the young Emperor asked his father-in-law to remain on hand in Constantinople to help in effecting a more enduring settlement.[21]

In the event it was John V who, in the spring of 1355, first broke the peace, yielding to the persuasions of his advisers to make war on Matthew as a usurper. Matthew was at the time in Gratianoupolis, having left Adrianople in the charge of his uncle Nikephoros Kantakouzenos (*No. 34*). It was there that the two Emperors, John V and Matthew, met to draw up a new agreement. Both were to remain Emperors, since both had been "elected by the Romans and crowned according to the rites of the Byzantine church." But since the territory left to the Empire was too small to support two Emperors, Matthew should relinquish his Thracian domain and go to rule over the Greek cities in the Peloponnese. John V would first see to it that Matthew's brother, the Despot Manuel, would hand over the Peloponnese in exchange for the island of Lemnos, which he would hold for life, in addition to the proceeds of the public tax in Constantinople called the τοπική. Matthew should have possession of Lemnos until such time as Manuel arrived there and also maintain his garrisons in the cities of Thrace until the moment came for him to proceed to the Peloponnese, when he would make them over to John. This elaborate agreement was never in fact implemented. Matthew was informed of a plot to murder him on his voyage over to

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[20] Kantak. iv, 39: III, pp. 282, 1–284, 2. Greg. xxix, 19–20: III, pp. 236–237.

[21] Kantak. iv, 40, 42: III, pp. 292, 16–21; 308, 19–309, 13. Greg. xxix, 27–30: III, pp. 241–244; xxix, 35: III, p. 247, 1–7. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 3032.

Lemnos and his agents reported that John's garrisons had refused to surrender their posts on the island. Matthew therefore felt that he had been deceived and complained to John that he had been wronged and very nearly murdered. John replied that he too had been wronged; and at the end of 1355 hostilities broke out again. Matthew, with the help of a Turkish army, occupied Komotine, while John V returned to Constantinople.[22]

In the spring of 1356 Matthew joined forces with his uncle the Despot Manuel Asen at Bizye and marched on Constantinople. John V came out to meet him and embassies were exchanged between the two Emperors, but to no avail.[23] Matthew already had the support of the Emir Orchan; but in the summer of 1356 the Serbian rulers of the cities in the plain of Philippi (Mygdonia) offered him their services also, notably the Caesar Vojichna (Boichnas), governor of Drama, who guaranteed the support of Serres. Unfortunately for his cause, Matthew was at that moment embarrassed by the overprompt arrival in Thrace of a Turkish army sent to his aid by Orchan which anticipated his orders by attacking the Serbians and devastating their territory. Confusion became worse confounded when Matthew's Greek and Turkish army, which he had patiently restored to some sort of order at the Panax River, was thrown into panic by the return to camp in the evening of some Turkish soldiers who had been out marauding and who were taken to be Serbs on the attack. Matthew, deserted by his troops, who bolted to get through the pass into Philippi before nightfall, was indeed set upon by a Serbian detachment. His life was saved by one Kyparissiotes who gave him his own horse, but he was forced to spend the night hiding in the rushes in the pass between Philippi and the marshes. His whereabouts was revealed by one of his own men, Gabras, shouting out his name; and he was hunted down with dogs by the soldiers of Vojichna and brought to Philippi. On the next day Vojichna, who hoped to get a good ransom for so eminent a prisoner, had Matthew transferred to honorable captivity in his own house in Drama. Meanwhile, however, John V arrived in Thrace and offered a large sum of money for the surrender of the prisoner, and Vojichna, realizing that Matthew was not likely to be able to find the money for his own ransom, decided to accept the offer. He tried to raise the price by offering to have Matthew's eyes put out; but John insisted on having his prisoner unharmed. Thus Matthew was ransomed and delivered to his brother-in-law. He was then put on a ship for Tenedos to join his wife Eirene, her two sons, and two of her daughters, who had already been taken there from Gratianoupolis. John V held out strongly against the idea put forward by some of his own supporters that Matthew should be blinded as the only means of silencing his claim to the throne, a stand that earned him the lasting gratitude of Matthew's father. After a short stay in Tenedos with his wife and family, Matthew was removed to temporary custody on the island of Lesbos where he could be watched over by John V's loyal brother-in-law Francesco Gattilusio.[24]

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[22] Kantak. iv, 42: III, pp. 309, 22–314, 11. Cf. Parisot, pp. 302–304; *DR*, V, no. 3039. For the tax called τοπικὴ πρόσοδος, see D. A. Zakythenos, *Crise monétaire et crise économique à Byzance du XII^e au XV^e siècle* (Athens, 1948), p. 83.

[23] Kantak. iv, 44: III, pp. 319, 21–320, 24. Greg. xxxvi, 18: III, p. 510, 16–19, says that Matthew gave his uncle Manuel Asen, formerly *sebastokrator*, the title of Despot.

While Matthew was in prison on Lesbos a plot was hatched in Constantinople to seize the palace with the wife and children of John V and then hold them to ransom for the release of Matthew. The ringleader was an Italian of the Kantakouzenos household called Ziani (Zeianos), who tried to implicate Matthew's mother, the ex-Empress Eirene. It was she who revealed the plot to John V through her husband, and when John got back from Thessalonike he arranged a conference with Matthew at Epibatai. It was proposed that Matthew should now renounce his imperial title and status and become a private citizen, though ranking in honor above all members of the imperial family except the young Andronikos. Matthew at first refused to entertain such an idea, but his father came to Epibatai to convince him that this solution would be for the best, and he reluctantly agreed to resign his claim to the title of Emperor. In December 1357 a new settlement was reached at Epibatai in the presence of the Emperors and Empresses, the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem as well as of most of the senators and such bishops as chanced to be in the capital. It was agreed that Matthew should forfeit his imperial title and put off his regalia while continuing to enjoy precedence over all the Emperor's sons except the heir-apparent Andronikos. Matthew took a solemn oath of loyalty to John V and swore to observe these conditions. The oath was administered by the Patriarch; and to seal the bargain John V granted the titles of Despot and *sebastokrator* respectively to Matthew's sons John and Demetrios before returning to Constantinople.[25]

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[24] Kantak. iv, 44–46: III, pp. 319–340. Greg. xxxvi, 5: III, pp. 503–504; xxxvii, 64–69: III, pp. 564–566. Cf. Parisot, pp. 302–306; Miller, *Gattilusj*, pp. 408–409; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, p. 240; Lemerle, *Philippes*, pp. 205–206. *DR*, V, nos. 3064, 3065, dates the ransom of Matthew by John V to the summer of 1357. That Matthew's wife and family were imprisoned with him is indicated by John V's letter to Pope Innocent VI of 7 November 1357, ed. J. Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières* (*Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, II [Rome, 1954]), p. 78, 19–21: ... *necnon qui se fecerat imperatorem habemus in carceribus nostris cum uxore et pueris suis.*

For a few years after this settlement Matthew seems to have lived privately in Constantinople. But in 1361 his father took him with all his family by ship to the Peloponnese to join his brother Manuel the Despot. Their departure was perhaps hastened by the outbreak of plague in Constantinople in September 1361. However, rumor soon got about that it was the father's intention to replace Manuel with Matthew as governor of the Peloponnese, and Manuel had to be reassured that this was not the case and that Matthew had come to Greece only to help and to co-operate with his brother. The ex-Emperor John VI spent over a year with his sons before going back to Constantinople, leaving Matthew behind in Greece.[26]

So far as is known Matthew passed the remainder of his life there, participating to some extent in the administration of the Peloponnese, but hardly anything is known of his activities after 1361. About 1364 he renewed the oath of loyalty that he had sworn to John V in the presence of the Patriarch Philotheos, who had now been reinstated. This fact would indicate Matthew's presence in Constantinople in that year.[27]

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[25] Kantak. iv, 47–49: III, pp. 340–358. The text of Matthew's oath of allegiance to John V and Andronikos Palaiologos, as it was resworn later before the Patriarch Philotheos, is in *MM*, I, no. CXCIV, pp. 448–450. It is undated, but cf. *DR*, V, no. 3017.

[26] Kantak. iv, 49: III, pp. 358–360. Chalk. i: pp. 37, 21–38, 7 (*CSHB*), alone writes of Matthew's vain attempt to interest the rulers of Rhodes in regaining his "Empire" before he settled at "Sparta" with his brother Manuel. It is evident that Matthew was still referred to as Basileus even after the agreement at Epibatai. Cf., e.g., Demetrios Kydones' letter to Constantine Asen of 1370–1371 in Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 71, p. 103, 29, 36.

King Peter IV of Aragon, who acquired the Catalan Duchy of Athens in 1379, was in correspondence with Matthew in the years 1379 to 1381; writing to Matthew on 18 September 1380, Peter thanks him for his letter sealed with a golden bull. The purpose of this correspondence is not revealed. It may well have concerned the affairs of Matthew's daughter Helena (*No. 52*) who had married Luis Fadrique of Aragon, Count of Salona across the Gulf of Corinth from the Peloponnese; but Peter IV saw fit to address Matthew as *imperator* and *moderator* of the Romans.[28] By that time Matthew had in fact succeeded to the Despotate of the Peloponnese, apparently nominating one of his sons, John or Demetrios, as his colleague, his brother Manuel having died childless in April 1380.[29] Some time after May 1381, however, his aged father arrived in Greece from Constantinople; and Matthew seems to have accepted the fact, agreed in advance by his father, that Theodore Palaiologos, the son of John V, should be sent out as the new Despot of the Peloponnese. A letter from Demetrios Kydones to Matthew written in the autumn of 1382 refers in rhetorical terms to the victories of the Greeks over "the insolent barbarians" and to the prosperity of Lakonia under the prudent administration of its new Lycurgus advised by the Emperor his father. These words were evidently written after Manuel's death, when Matthew's father had joined him in Greece, but before the arrival of Theodore Palaiologos.[30]

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[27] *MM*, I, pp. 448–450. Cf. Gerola, *Giovanni Cantac.*, p. 383 and note 2. For Matthew's career in the Peloponnese, see especially Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 114–117. Philotheos was reinstated as Patriarch on 8 October 1364.

[28] Letters of Peter IV dated 13 September 1379, 18 September 1380, and 31 [!] April 1381, in Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, nos. 379, 419, 466. Cf. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, II, p. 76.

[29] Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, ed. Lambros, p. 37, 8–12 (*MPG*, CLVI, 209A): . . . τοῦ . . . τῆς τοῦ Πέλοπος ἄρχοντος (Manuel Kantakouzenos), ἤδη τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος, οὐκ ἐπὶ παιδί τινι, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου, ὄντος μὲν πάνυ χρηστοῦ, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὑπερτέρου, καὶ τὸν χρόνον γεραιτέρου, ὑπὸ δὲ παιδὸς θρασέος . . . κωλυομένου ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. . . .

[30] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 241, especially lines 38–45. Theodore Palaiologos arrived in the Peloponnese probably toward the end of 1382, "at the request of his uncle (Matthew) and his grandfather (John VI)." (Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, ed. Lambros, pp. 36, 3–4: δεομένου μὲν ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ θείου, ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τοῦ πάππου. . . . Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 38, 1–40, 7 (*MPG*, CLVI, 208B-C).

Matthew died at Mistra in the Peloponnese in 1391 (or 1383). It is possible that he became a monk before his death, but the suggestion that he retired to Mount Athos to die appears to be unsubstantiated.[31]

Matthew appears to have spent his declining years composing philosophical and theological works. Those that survive are: two philosophical treatises, one on the usefulness of knowledge and the other on the three faculties of the soul, both addressed to his own daughter Theodora Kantakouzene (*No. 51*); a Commentary on the Song of Songs and a Commentary on the Book of Proverbs.[32]

A gold seal of Matthew is preserved in the monastery of Philotheou on Mount Athos, wrongly appended to a document of John V Palaiologos. The reverse shows Matthew standing as Emperor, with the legend:

Μα(ν)θε͂ος ἐν Χῷ αὐτοκράτορ ʼΑσάνις ὁ Καντακουζινός

The obverse bears the standing figure of Christ.[33]

Cf. Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 19, p. 36, 16; Sphrantzes, *Majus*, I, ix: p. 188, 33 (Grecu); p. 47, 8 (*CSHB*). Matthew's son Demetrios resented the surrender to the Palaiologi of what he felt to be his inheritance and fought hard against Theodore Palaiologos until his death in 1384 (see *No. 49*). See Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse*, pp. 163–165; Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 58, 114–116; Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, pp. 417–419.

[31] The date of Matthew's death depends upon the interpretation of the last line of the Short Chronicle of 1391, ed. Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 52, p. 89, 52; Charanis, *Chron.*, p. 359. The preceding lines (50–51) refer to the death and burial in the Peloponnese of Matthew's father on 15 June 1383. The chronicler concludes with these words: ʼΑπέθανε πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κῦρ Ματθαῖος. This could mean either "a few days before" the death of his father, or "a few days ago" (i.e., a few days before the chronicler finished his compilation in 1391). The first interpretation has been favored by Hopf, *Geschichte*, II, p. 13, Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, p. 117 and p. 118 note 2, and most recently by Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, p. 419 and note 30. The latter interpretation was accepted by Charanis, *Chron.*, p. 352, Gerola, *Giovanni Cantac.*, p. 386, and Filitti, p. 6. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 261, writes: *Obiit patre superstite*, but his evidence is obscure.

[32] The philosophical treatises are edited by J. Sakellion, Ματθαίου βασιλέως τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ Λόγοι ʼΑνέκδοτοι δύο, *DIEE*, II (1887), pp. 425–439, and in Παρνασσός, II (1888), pp. 264–284. Cf. Krumbacher, p. 489; B. Antoniades, Διορθώσεις τινες εἰς δύο Ματθαίου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ λόγους. . . κατὰ χειρόγραφον τῆς ἐν Μόσχᾳ Συνοδικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, *DIEE*, IV (1894), pp. 518–532. For Matthew's theological works, see A. Ehrhard, in Krumbacher, p. 136; Guilland, in Greg. *Corr.*, pp. 315–316; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 790–791. An eleventh-century manuscript of the Homilies *De Statuis* of John Chrysostom, now in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. gr. 557), appears to have belonged to Matthew. An inscription in red ink on fol. 1 in a fourteenth-century hand reads: Βίβλος

The story of Matthew's marriage to Rusna, a supposed daughter of the Serbian "Wcascinus" (? Vukašin) or "sister of the Serbian Emperor Stephen Dušan," retailed with many reservations by DuCange, appears to derive from the garbled accounts of later chroniclers such as Theodore Spandounes, Luccari, and Orbini. Spandounes has John VI give Matthew in marriage to "a daughter of the king of Serbia," who brought him the whole of Albania as dowry. This tale may find its origins in some reminiscence of the engagement of Matthew's brother Manuel (*No. 25*) to a daughter of the Serbian Voivode John Oliver, or the marriage of his brother-in-law Nikephoros to the sister of Dušan's widow (see Maria Kantakouzene, *No. 27*).[34]

A Life of Matthew, said to be translated from Latin or Italian into modern Greek by one Argyros of Athens at the request of the Stolnic Constantine Cantacusino in the late seventeenth century, remains to be published.[35]

Matthew had two sons, John and Demetrios (*Nos. 49, 50*), and three daughters, Theodora (*No. 51*), Helena (*No. 52*) and Maria (*No. 54*).[36]

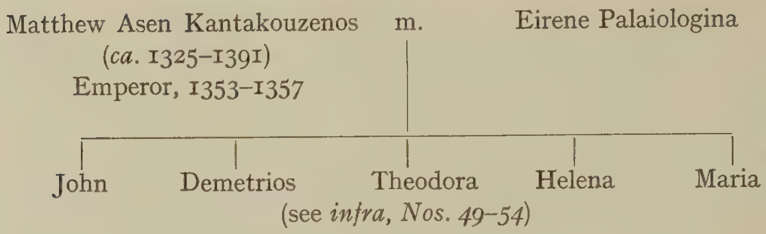
Ματθαίου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλέως. R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III (Vatican City, 1950), no. 557, p. 433.

[33] Dölger, *Schatzk.*, p. 327, no. 119, 2. For Matthew's use of his mother's name of Asen, see his signature on the *horismos* of February 1354, note 18 *supra.*

[34] DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 261. Spandounes, p. 144, 17–19: "In questo tempo Joanne Cantacusino per meglio stabilire lo imperio et le cose sue, maridò uno suo figliolo nomato Mattheo a una figliola del rè di Servia, elquale dette per dote tutta l'Albania al Cantacusino."

[35] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosol. Bibl.*, IV, p. 327. The manuscript is entitled: Ματθαίου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ γένος, βίος καὶ ἤθη. Cf. P. Lemerle, in Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 63 note 1; cf. p. 102.

[36] Papadopulos, no. 64, p. 41, following DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, pp. 261–262, gives Matthew and Eirene three sons, John, Demetrios, and George. This is a mistake, however. Kantak. speaks only of John and Demetrios; George (*No. 67*) belongs to the next generation. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 82 note 4. The third daughter of Matthew listed by DuCange and Papadopulos under the name of Eirene, who married George Branković of Serbia, also belongs to the next generation (see *infra*, *No. 71*). An unpublished letter of Theodore Potamios is addressed: Καντακουζηνῷ τῷ θείῳ τοῦ βασιλέως. The identity of this Kantakouzenos remains uncertain; but if the Emperor in question is Andronikos IV (1376–1379) or even Manuel II, who was co-Emperor with John V from 1371–1391, it is possible that his "uncle" to whom Potamios writes is Matthew Kantakouzenos. Cf. Sp. Lambros, Θεόδωρος ὁ Ποτάμιος καὶ ἡ εἴς Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον μονῳδία αὐτοῦ, *DIEE*, II (1885), pp. 58–62; Krumbacher, p. 489.



No. 25

MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS, Despot (*ca.* 1326–1380)

Manuel was the second son of John VI Kantakouzenos and Eirene. He was born about 1326 if not later.[1] He first came into prominence in 1342. In March of that year he and his brother Matthew accompanied their father when he set out from Didymoteichos for Thessalonike and served as officers in his army.[2] After his father's withdrawal to Serbia and treaty of alliance with Stephen Dušan in July 1342 Manuel was betrothed to Anna or Maria, a daughter of the Serbian nobleman John Oliver (Liberos), Voivode of Ovčepolje and Lesnovo. Manuel had earlier been engaged to Isabelle (Maria or Margaret) of Lusignan, daughter of Guy of Lusignan; but the engagement was broken off by her father in 1341.[3]

In April 1343 John Kantakouzenos entered Berroia with the help of Stephen Dušan and appointed Manuel as governor of the city. In June 1345 the Cantacuzenist faction in Thessalonike, led by

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[1] General accounts of the career of Manuel Kantakouzenos are given by R. Guilland in Greg. *Corr.*, pp. 311–313 and Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 95–113. It seems unlikely that he was born as early as 1320, as suggested by Zakythenos, since in 1343 Kantakouzenos describes his two sons as "not yet having reached man's estate" (Kantak. iii, 58: II, p. 359, 7: μήπω τὴν μειρακικὴν ὑπερβάντες ἡλικίαν); and Gregoras describes Manuel in the same year as being "little more than a youth and as yet beardless" (Greg. xiii, 10: II, p. 673, 2–4: . . . Μανουήλ· ὅς ἄρτι καθ' ἡλικίαν τὸν ἔφηβον παραλλάττων, καὶ μήπω μηδὲ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνθήσας ἴουλον ἐν ταῖς παρείαις).

[2] Kantak. iii, 32: II, p. 195, 21; iii, 38: II, p. 232, 21. Greg. xii, 16: II, p. 628, 5.

[3] Kantak. iii, 48: II, pp. 290–292. Greg. xiii, 2: II, p. 638, 16. On John Oliver (called Liberos and Liberios in the Greek sources), who was given the title of Despot by Stephen Dušan after his coronation in 1346, see J. Radonić, "O despotu Jovanu Oliveru i negovoj ženi Ani Mariji," *Glas Srpska Akademija*, XCIV (1914), pp. 74–108; Jireček, *Serben*, I, p. 388 and note 2; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 222 and note 49, 262; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, pp. 159–166; Zakythenos, *Une princesse*, p. 67.

John Apokaukos, staged a coup d'état and sent an appeal for help to Manuel in Berroia. He sent an army to their assistance but it arrived too late to save the situation. Manuel remained in charge of Berroia until Dušan treacherously occupied the city early in 1347. He then took refuge with his uncle John Angelos in Thessaly. Demetrios Kydones met Manuel in Berroia in the summer of 1345 and wrote a letter to his father praising the young man's virtues.[4]

After he had established himself as Emperor in Constantinople, in May 1347, John VI sent a ship to fetch Manuel from Thessaly and granted him the rank and title of Despot. During the absence of John and Matthew in 1348 Manuel was entrusted with the government of the capital, and as Prefect of the City he took an active part in its defense against the Genoese from Galata in the war of 1348–1349.[5]

With the conclusion of the Genoese war in 1349 Manuel was sent by his father to take over the administration of the Peloponnese. He arrived in Greece on 25 October 1349; and there he remained as Despot until his death in 1380. Manuel was remarkably successful in bringing order out of chaos in the Peloponnese. He came to favorable terms with the Latins and defeated the attempt of the Greek *dunatoi* led by one Lampoudios to perpetuate the anarchy which they found more conducive to their interests. When John V Palaiologos became sole Emperor at the end of 1354 the Greeks of the Peloponnese again rebelled against Manuel's rule, encouraged by the sons of Isaac Asen, Michael and Andrew, whom John V sent to replace Manuel as governors. But Manuel triumphantly defended his position and restored to the Peloponnese a peace and prosperity which was still in force under his administration when his father came to write his memoirs.[6]

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[4] Kantak. iii, 57–58: II, pp. 354–355, 359, 5; iii, 61: II, p. 374, 1; iii, 64: II, pp. 391, 16, 394, 10; iii, 81: II, pp. 499, 3–501, 8; iii, 94: II, pp. 574, 4–20, 577, 20, 580, 6; iv, 4: III, p. 31, 14. Greg. xiii, 10: II, p. 673, 1–10; xvi, 1: II, p. 795, 9. Letter of Demetrios Kydones written from Berroia in July-August 1345: Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 6, pp. 31–32; cf. R.-J. Loenertz, "Note sur une lettre de Démétrius Cydonès à Jean Cantacuzène," *BZ*, XLIV (1951), pp. 405–408. Dem. Kydones, *Occisorum Thessalonicae Monodia*, *MPG*, CIX, 644D–645A.

[5] Kantak. iv, 5: III, p. 33, 1–4; iv, 10: III, p. 63, 7; iv, 11: III, pp. 70, 17, 76, 14–15, 79, 4. Greg. xvii, 2: II, p. 849, 11. Alexios Makrembolites, in his treatise on the Genoese War of 1348–1349 (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, I [1891], p. 150, § 7), describes the part played by Manuel Kantakouzenos, κορυφαῖος ὢν τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει λαοῦ, in the defense of the city against the first Genoese attack in 1348.

John V was soon obliged to recognize and to confirm Manuel's rights as Despot of the Peloponnese. It was after his elevation to the rank of Despot in 1347 that Manuel married Isabelle of Lusignan, to whom he had originally been betrothed. She was the child of the second marriage of Guy of Lusignan, who had succeeded somewhat reluctantly to the throne of Armenia as Constantine II in October 1342, only to be assassinated two years later. Her mother was a daughter of Syrgiannes Palaiologos whom Guy married between 1330 and 1332. She was born about 1333 and was first betrothed to Manuel before 1341, while Andronikos III was still alive. Her father, however, had fallen out with John Kantakouzenos and declared for the crown in Constantinople after the death of Andronikos III; and it was in these circumstances that Manuel was engaged instead to the daughter of the Serbian Voivode John Oliver. Kantakouzenos was later at pains to point out that no vows had been made in this instance and that Manuel's engagement to the Serbian lady had been arranged only by word of mouth; for, after his father's entry into Constantinople as Emperor in 1347, Manuel married his first love Isabelle of Lusignan. She went with him to the Peloponnese in 1349 and lived there until her husband's death in 1380, when she seems to have moved to Cyprus.[7]

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[6] The exact date of Manuel's arrival in the Peloponnese (25 October 1349) is provided by Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, § 6, § 8, p. 404, lines 31–33; cf. pp. 414–415. Cf. Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 19, p. 36, 9; no. 27, p. 46, 19. *Chronicon breve* in Doukas, p. 515, 11 (*CSHB*). Kantak. iv, 13: III, pp. 85–90; iv, 38: III, p. 278, 14; Greg. xxix, 38: III, pp. 248–249; Chalk. i: p. 37, 11–12 (*CSHB*). On Manuel's career as Despot of the Peloponnese, see Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 98–113; II, p. 72. His predecessor in this position was Alexios Laskaris Metochites, later Grand Domestic and governor of Thessalonike. See Manuel Raoul's letters to Metochites in Manuel Raoul, *Corr.*, nos. 7 and 8, pp. 153–155, 156–158. In the spring of 1355 John V agreed with Manuel's brother Matthew that the latter should take over the government of the Peloponnese and persuade Manuel to move to Lemnos. But the agreement was never implemented. Kantak. iv, 42: III, p. 312. See *supra, No. 24.*

[7] Kantak. iii, 31: II, pp. 191–193; iii, 48: II, pp. 290–292. Guy of Lusignan had come to Constantinople about 1318 at the request of his aunt Rita (Maria or Xene) and served Andronikos III as *strategos* of the West and as governor of Serres from 1328–1341. His first wife was a cousin of John VI Kantakouzenos (*No. 33*). Binon, *Guy d'Arménie*, pp. 126–127, 136. Isabelle, called also Maria and Margaret, was granted the domain of Aradippou in Cyprus by her second cousin Peter I of Cyprus, who visited her in the

In 1361 John Kantakouzenos, now the monk Joasaph, with his eldest son Matthew and the rest of his family sailed to the Peloponnese to join Manuel. A rumor was then put about by some of Manuel's enemies that it was his father's intention to replace him by Matthew as governor of the Peloponnese. Once Manuel had been persuaded that the rumor was baseless he declared himself ready to resign in favor of his brother or to co-operate with him if it were his father's wish. Thereafter the two brothers seem to have worked together in the administration of the Peloponnese, though Matthew played no more than a secondary role.[8]

John Kantakouzenos in his memoirs writes of a military alliance against the Turks between Manuel and the Latin rulers of the Peloponnese, and also of a joint attack in which Manuel participated against Roger of Lluria in Boeotia. These facts seem to be borne out by the evidence of the Aragonese version of the Chronicle of the Morea, which records that Manuel joined forces with Gautier de Lor, Baillie of Achaia (*ca.* 1358–1359), the Venetians and the Hospitallers in a campaign against the Turks. The allies are said to have scored a victory over a Turkish fleet off Megara, setting fire to thirty-five of the enemy's ships. The chronicler states that the Turks then fled to Roger of Lluria at Thebes. The chronology of these events is uncertain. Roger of Lluria, Marshal of the Catalan Duchy of Athens, is known to have occupied Thebes with the help of Turkish troops in 1362–1363. The joint attack upon him of Manuel and the Latins mentioned by Manuel's father should therefore perhaps be dated within that year.[9]

Peloponnese in 1368. Hill, *Cyprus*, II, p. 359; Zakythenos, *Une princesse*, pp. 69–70. Her name, as Ζαμπέα ντὲ Λεζηνάω, can be read in an inscription at Mistra; and in another inscription of 1374–1375 in the church of St. George at Longanikos in Lakonia her name is coupled with that of her husband as: τῶν εὐσεβῶν δεσπότων ἡμῶν Μανουὴλ καὶ Μαρίας τῶν Καντακουζηνῶν. G. Millet, "Inscriptions inédites de Mistra," *BCH*, XXX (1906), pp. 453–459; Zakythenos, *Une princesse*, pp. 62–63. In 1372 she visited Cyprus, and she seems to have settled there after her husband's death in 1380, though there is evidence for her presence in Rhodes in 1382. She died childless, probably between 1382 and 1387. Zakythenos, *Une princesse*, pp. 70–76; G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, V (1927), p. 167; Hill, *Cyprus*, II, pp. 381 and note 3, 417.

[8] Kantak. iv, 49: III, pp. 358–360.

[9] Kantak. iv, 13: III, p. 90, 3–7: ὅθεν μαχομένῳ τε πρὸς Πέρσας ναυσὶν ἐπιστρατεύοντας πολλάκις συνεμάχησαν, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ τροπαίων ἐκοινώνησαν

Manuel was further involved in the dispute over the succession to the principality of Achaia that followed the death without heir of Robert of Taranto in 1364. The contending parties were Robert's widow Marie of Bourbon and his brother Philip III of Taranto. Marie wished to install as prince her son by her first marriage, Hugh of Lusignan, Prince of Galilee. In the struggle that ensued her supporters called on the help of Manuel Kantakouzenos and of the lord of Argos, Guy d'Enghien. Manuel responded by devastating some of the Frankish possessions in the Peloponnese. A truce was proclaimed in July 1366 and Manuel and his ally were rewarded with the sum of 8000 Venetian ducats. Manuel continued, however, to assist Hugh of Lusignan in ravaging Frankish territory until the conclusion of a proper treaty between Marie of Bourbon and Philip of Taranto in March 1370, when Hugh was bribed into renouncing his claims to the principality.[10]

The trust and concord between Manuel and the Franks which his father extols and which was apparently still in evidence when his father completed his memoirs seems to have been broken shortly afterward.[11] Between 1374 and 1376 Manuel was obliged to take up

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κατὰ βαρβάρων, καὶ εἰς Βοιωτίαν συνεισέβαλον πρός τινα τῶν ἐκεῖ δυναστευόντων Λατίνων πολεμοῦντι, ʽΡουντζέρην Ντελωρίαν προσαγορευόμενον.... *Libro de los Fechos*, 685, p. 151: "Et en aquel tempo el dicho micer Gauter, bayle, con los prelados, barones & caualleros de la Morea, con el dispot de los Grieguos, Chirmanoli Catacosino & con ciertas galeas de Venecianos & con ciertas galeas del hospital del conuento de Rodas...fueron todos ensemble á la Megra & alli cremaron .xxx. .v. lenyos de Turcos, & los Turcos s'en fuyeron á Estiuas á Roger de Loria, qui era en aquel tempo vicario & gouernador del ducame." On Roger of Lluria, see R.-J. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras: Régestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans (1311–1394)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV (1955), pp. 182–183. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 106–109, attempts to conflate the testimony of Kantakouzenos and the Aragonese chronicler. I am greatly indebted to Dr. A. T. Luttrell for his help in elucidating this and the following passages of the *Libro de los Fechos*.

[10] *Libro de los Fechos*, 697, 698, 702, pp. 153–155. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 109–110. Binon, *Guy d'Arménie*, pp. 128–132, has shown, however, that Marie of Bourbon's first husband was not, as Zakythenos maintains, Guy of Lusignan, King of Armenia, but rather the Cypriote Guy of Lusignan. Marie and her son Hugh were therefore not directly related by marriage to Manuel Kantakouzenos.

[11] Kantak. iv, 13: III, p. 90, 12–15. Kantakouzenos seems to have finished writing his memoirs in or before 1369. See *supra*, *No. 22*, p. 100 and note 170.

arms against the then Baillie of Achaia, Francesco Sanseverino, who had attacked the town of Gardiki. The garrison of the citadel appealed to Manuel at Mistra; and Manuel set out with an army reputedly consisting of 1000 knights and 2000 infantry. A battle was fought resulting in disaster for the Greeks. Manuel managed to escape with the remnant of his army. The Frankish knights, however, soon tired of laying siege to the citadel of Gardiki and abandoned the enterprise.[12]

Manuel was implicated with his father in negotiations with Pope Gregory XI in 1374 concerning the union of the Churches and common action between Greeks and Latins against the Turks.[13] He died at Mistra on 10 April 1380 and was probably buried there.[14] He had no children and the Despotate of the Peloponnese passed to his elder brother Matthew, though there is evidence that his widow Isabelle administered it for a short while in 1380.[15]

Manuel founded the monastery of Zoodotos Christos at Mistra which was made a patriarchal foundation at his request in June 1365 by the Patriarch Philotheos. He also built the church of St. Sophia at Mistra.[16] Nikephoros Gregoras numbered him among his friends and wrote two letters to him between the years 1347 and 1350.[17] Demetrios Kydones was also among his correspondents; while Manuel Raoul, who lived in the Peloponnese under Manuel's administration, speaks highly of his beneficent and salutary rule as Despot.[18]

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[12] *Libro de los Fechos*, 714–722, pp. 157–159. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 110–111.

[13] Letter of Gregory XI to Manuel of 13 December 1374. Baronius-Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, XXVI, *anno* 1374, 5, p. 235; G. Mollat, *Lettres secrètes et curiales du Pape Grégoire XI (1370–1378) intéressant les pays autres que la France*, fasc. II (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome [Paris, 1963]), no. 3041, p. 89; cf. Gregory's letter of 28 January 1375 to Manuel's father, *ibid.*, no. 3119, pp. 99–100. Cf. Halecki, *Un empereur*, pp. 306–307; Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 111–112; Greg. *Corr.*, p. 313.

[14] Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, §11, p. 404; cf. pp. 417–418. Cf. Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 19, p. 36, 15; cf. no. 27, p. 46, 19. *Chronicon breve* in Doukas, p. 516, 1–2 (*CSHB*).

[15] Manuel II Palaiologos in his funeral oration for his brother Theodore remarks that Manuel died οὐκ ἐπὶ παιδί τινι. Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, p. 37, 4 f.; *MPG*, CLVI, 209A. Cf. the letter of Demetrios Kydones to one of Manuel's friends in the Peloponnese written after Manuel's death. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, pp. 76–77. For Isabelle's administration in 1380, see Gerola, *Giovanni Cantac.*, p. 386 note 2.

[16] *MM*, I, pp. 472–474; cf. I, pp. 479–483, where the Patriarch refers to Manuel as αὐτάδελφος of the Emperor (John V). Cf. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 105–106; II, pp. 80, 298. An inscription formerly carved on the four columns of the portico of the church of St. Sophia at Mistra presented an encomium of both Manuel's parents and of Manuel himself as its founder.

A manuscript of the History of Thucydides now in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. gr. 127) was copied for Manuel at Mistra by his father's friend and scribe Manuel Tzykandyles in 1372.[19]

A jasper cup in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos bears on its handle the name of Manuel Despot Kantakouzenos Palaiologos in monogrammatic form, with the figure, possibly emblematic, of a winged dragon.[20]

The lines referring to Manuel, when printed in their proper order, read as follows:

τίκτουσι γὰρ τὸν 'Ιμανουὴλ δεσπότην
ἄνδρα στιβαρὸν καὶ φρενῶν πλήρη ξένε
ὑπερφυᾶ λόγοις τε καὶ τοῖς πρακτέοις
ὃς εὐτυχὴς ὢν καὶ καλὸς καὶ γεννάδας
καὶ πραγμάτων ἔμπειρος ἐξ εὐβουλίας
πάντας καθαίρει δυσμενεῖς κατὰ κράτος
νέμει δὲ τὴν Πέλοπος ἐξ εὐανδρίας
σωτὴρ ἀληθῶς ἢ πατὴρ δεδειγμένος
καὶ τὸν δὲ σηκὸν ἀνεγείρας ἐκ βάθρων....

Text reproduced (as originally transcribed by Fourmont) in G. Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," *BCH*, XXIII (1899), pp. 144–145. Monograms bearing the words δ(εσ)ποτ(ης) κ(α)ν(τα)κ(ου)ζ(η)ν(ος) also figure on the walls of the church of St. Sophia; *ibid.*, pp. 142–143. The name εμανουηλ δεσποτης with the figure of a lion was apparently once inscribed on a fountain at Mistra; and the monograms of Manuel Kantakouzenos Despot Palaiologos with a grffin and a lion were to be found in one of the other churches; *ibid.*, p. 146.

[17] Greg. *Corr.*, nos. 153 (ed. Bezdeki, no. 76), 154, p. 231.

[18] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, nos. 17, 18, 19, pp. 46–48 (written to Manuel in Berroia, according to Loenertz; but nos. 17 and 18 are addressed "to the Despot," which title was not granted to Manuel until after his flight from Berroia and return to Constantinople in 1347); *ibid.*, no. 20, pp. 49–50 (to Manuel as Despot in the Peloponnese in 1349); *ibid.*, no. 22, pp. 51–52 (to Manuel as Despot in the Peloponnese in 1371). Man. Raoul, *Corr.*, nos. 2 and 3, pp. 140–145.

[19] This manuscript, partly by the hand of another copyist called the *hieromonachos* Markianos, was completed on 4 September 1372: θείω καὶ προσκυνητῶ ὁρισμῶ τοῦ θεοπροβλήτου. θεοστεφοῦς. πανευτυχοῦς καὶ πανυψηλοτάτου δεσπότου τῶν 'Ρωμαίων κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ.... Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, pp. 165–166.

[20] Millet, *Recueil des inscriptions*, no. 70, pp. 23–24. A manuscript of the *De Diagnosi* and *Therapeutics* of Aktouarios belonging to the Medical

Manuel Kantakouzenos m. Isabelle of Lusignan
(no issue)

No. 26

ANDRONIKOS KANTAKOUZENOS (1334–1347)

Andronikos was the third and youngest son of John VI and Eirene. He was born in 1334; his father describes him as being not yet twelve years old in 1345.[1] At the outbreak of the civil war in October 1341 he seems to have been living in Constantinople with his grandmother Theodora and his sister-in-law Eirene Palaiologina, the wife of Matthew Kantakouzenos. They were all put under house arrest by Alexios Apokaukos. Later they were placed under stricter guard and in 1342 Andronikos was imprisoned.[2]

He died of the plague, during his mother's absence from Constantinople in 1347, without ever having taken part in public affairs.[3]

Society of London and now in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library, belonged to one Manuel Kantakouzenos. It is listed as no. 52 in W. R. Dawson, *Manuscripta Medica. A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of the Medical Society of London* (London, 1932), p. 59, no. 52. Cf. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 277. The manuscript appears to consist of two separate books written at different times (fols. 1–332; 332-end), subsequently bound together. Later it was divided into two volumes (fols. 1–202; 203–404). The name of the owner of the second book, evidently the older of the two, is to be found at fol. 404^{r} and reads: Μανουὴλ Καντακουζινὸς Γεράκης (?). The first book concludes at fol. 332^{v} with the historical notes referring to events of the year 1463 mentioned by Vogel and Gardthausen, *loc. cit.* These notes, dealing with the captivity and execution of David Komnenos of Trebizond in 1463, have been published and commented upon by J. Enoch Powell, "Die letzten Tage der Grosskomnenen," *BZ*, XXXVII (1937), pp. 358–359. The Registrar of the Medical Society of London has kindly supplied me with a copy of a note on this manuscript by J. Enoch Powell, who suggests therein that the Manuel Kantakouzenos in question may be the Despot of the Peloponnese. The identification seems uncertain though not impossible.

[1] Kantak. iii, 83: II, p. 511, 1–2: καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὔπω δώδεκα ἔτη γεγονότα. . . .

[2] Kantak. iii, 22: II, p. 136, 19; iii, 23: II, p. 143, 19; iii, 54: II, p. 327, 4.

[3] Kantak. iv, 8: III, p. 49, 15; iv, 9: III, p. 52, 19 (who describes Andronikos as his "third son"). Greg. xvi, 1: II, p. 798, 16; xvi, 4: II, p. 813, 5 (who describes him as "the youngest son" of John VI). His mother was in Adrianople with her eldest son Matthew and returned to Constantinople before the end of 1347. See *supra*, pp. 68 and note 87, 105, 110 and note 7. It is clear from Greg. and Kantak. that the Black Death reached Constantinople in the spring of 1347 and not in 1348, as is often stated. Cf. Greg. xvi, 1: II,

No. 27

MARIA KANTAKOUZENE, *basilissa* (floruit 1340–1360)

Kantakouzenos mentions his three daughters in 1342. Of these three Maria was the first married and may therefore be presumed to have been the eldest daughter of John VI and Eirene.[1] She was betrothed to the Despot Nikephoros II of Epiros, son of Anna the *basilissa* and the late John II Doukas Orsini, in 1340 when John Kantakouzenos, as Grand Domestic, restored Epiros to Byzantine rule.[2] Nikephoros was then about twelve or thirteen years old. Andronikos III honored him with the title of *panhypersebastos* in November 1340 before leaving Akarnania to return to Thessalonike. Subsequently Nikephoros is found in Didymoteichos.[3]

After the civil war broke out in 1341 Nikephoros, being "still too young to take the field of battle," was left with Maria and her mother in Didymoteichos. His marriage to Maria had still not taken place when Kantakouzenos left Didymoteichos for the West in March 1342. Later in the same year, however, in his chrysobull appointing John Angelos governor of Thessaly, Kantakouzenos refers to his γαμβρός Nikephoros Doukas. It may therefore be inferred that Maria's marriage took place in the summer of 1342.[4]

In 1347 Nikephoros was granted the rank of Despot by his father-in-law. In 1348, when the Genoese of Galata attacked Con-

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p. 797, 18: ... ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Μαιώτιδος καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ταναΐδος ἐκβολῶν ἦρος ἄρτι καθισταμένου, καὶ διήρκεσεν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον...." (i.e., 1347–1348). The Short Chronicles date it simply to the year 6856, indiction 1. Cf. Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, § 7, p. 404. It reached Trebizond in September 1347, the Peloponnese at least by February 1348, and Crete in the summer of the same year. But it had already swept Marseille by 1347 and was in Avignon by January 1348. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, p. 68, 15 f.; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, nos. 209, 214, pp. 63, 64. See, in general, F. A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence* (*A.D. 1348–9*) (London, 1893), p. 4 f.; L. F. Hirst, *The Conquest of Plague. A study of the evolution of epidemiology* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 12 f., 31 f. and *passim*.

[1] Kantak. iii, 32: II, p. 195, 5. Enveri, *Le Destan*, 1749, p. 106: "Le tekfūr avait trois filles, belles comme des hūrīs."

[2] Nikephoros had two years earlier been betrothed to a daughter of Catherine of Valois. Kantak. ii, 33: I, pp. 500–501; ii, 34: I, p. 510, 3 f.

[3] Kantak. ii, 37: I, pp. 532–534. Kantak. ii, 32: I, p. 500, 2–3, states that Nikephoros was "not yet seven years old" when his father died in 1335. Greg., however (xi, 6: I, p. 545, 23), says that he was fourteen years old in 1339–1340.

[4] Kantak. iii, 32: II, p. 195, 5–8; iii, 53: II, p. 321, 15–16.

stantinople during the Emperor's absence, Nikephoros, together with his brother-in-law Manuel Kantakouzenos, commanded the cavalry which helped defend the city on behalf of the Empress Eirene.[5] In 1351 and afterward, Nikephoros served his father-in-law as governor of the Thracian cities on the Hellespont with his headquarters at Ainos; and he was prepared to answer the call for help from John VI when John V Palaiologos entered Constantinople in November 1354, until he received word that his help was not required because agreement had been reached.[6]

After John VI's abdication Nikephoros joined forces with his brother-in-law Matthew Kantakouzenos and Matthew's uncle Nikephoros Kantakouzenos the *sebastokrator* (*No. 34*) in the defense of Adrianople against John V. But when John V put in to Ainos with his fleet in the spring of 1355 Nikephoros changed sides and surrendered the city; he then proceeded to help John V's army in the conquest of other Thracian towns.[7]

In December 1355 the death of Stephen Dušan led to anarchy and confusion in Serbian-occupied Greece. Nikephoros decided to make a bid to recover his hereditary possessions in Epiros. Early in 1356 he set sail for Thessaly, which he had little trouble in winning over to his cause. Maria was left in charge of affairs at Ainos. However, some of Nikephoros' sailors were persuaded by their commander Libadarios (Limpidarios) to return to Ainos with the ships, leaving Nikephoros stranded in Greece. Libadarios thus made himself master of Ainos. Maria was besieged in the acropolis but refused to give in, so that Libadarios was forced to come to terms with her. She then sailed to Constantinople where she was welcomed by her brother-in-law the Emperor John V. Later she made her way to Thessaly to join her husband who had by then established his control over Akarnania as well. For a time they lived happily together. But some of Nikephoros' entourage basely persuaded him to hand Maria over to the Serbians and marry the sister of Stephen Dušan's widow Helena, thus ensuring his hold upon Thessaly and Akarnania, since the Serbians would not attack him if he was allied by marriage and he would have their support against the predatory Albanians. Maria, rejected by her husband, was put under guard in Arta, while Nikephoros sent envoys to Serbia to negotiate his marriage to the sister of the Dowager Empress Helena. Maria at first took no action, feeling sure that her husband would eventually come to his senses. But when agreement had been reached that Nikephoros would hand her over to the Serbians and marry again, Maria got in touch with her brother Manuel, the Despot of the Peloponnese, asking him to rescue her. He at once sent a ship, and Maria's escape was facilitated by the Akarnanians and Albanians who were very partial to her, not only on account of her virtuous and generous nature, but also because of their loyalty to her father, the late Emperor John VI. Nikephoros made himself extremely unpopular by his action; people said that he had foolishly exchanged gold for brass. The Albanians threatened him with war if he did not dissolve his Serbian marriage and recall his wife Maria. At length, either from fear of this threat or because he realized his folly, Nikephoros renounced his illegal union and summoned Maria back from the Peloponnese. She, being much in love with her husband, overlooked his wickedness and made ready to return. In the meanwhile Nikephoros set out to crush the rebellious Albanians before she arrived, in case it should seem that his rule over them depended upon her; and with the help of some Turkish pirates who chanced to be raiding the Greek coast he attacked the Albanians in the region of Acheloos. There, in the spring of 1359, his whole army was destroyed and Nikephoros himself was killed in battle. Maria the *basilissa*, his widow, who was then still in the Peloponnese, mourned her husband's death for a decent period before going to Constantinople where she passed the rest of her life in the convent of Kyra Martha with her mother Eugenia, the ex-Empress Eirene.[8]

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[5] Kantak. iv, 5: III, p. 33, 3. Alexios Makrembolites, in his account of the Genoese War of 1348–1349, describes how the Empress Eirene, pending her husband's return from Didymoteichos, undertook the defense of the city and sent out her cavalry to make sallies under the command of her second son Manuel and her son-in-law the Count (ὁ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ γαμβρὸς αὐτῆς, ὁ Κόντος). This must refer to Nikephoros, who inherited the title of Count of Cephalonia from his father. Cf. Greg. xxvi, 34: III, p. 100, 16–17, where he is described as: ὁ τοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ ’Ακαρνάνων ἄρξαντος Κόντου πάλαι παῖς. Greg. xxix, 38: III, p. 249, 2–3: ὁ δ' ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ γαμβρός, Κόντου Κεφαληνίας παῖς. Alexios Makrembolites, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, I (1891), p. 150, § 7. The first action of the Genoese took place on 15 August 1348, the second on 5 March 1349 (*ibid.*, p. 156, § 13). Cf. Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 52, p. 89, 19–21; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 346–347.

[6] Greg. xxvi, 34: III, p. 100; xxix, 38: III, p. 249. Kantak. iv, 28: III, p. 211, 12; iv, 39: III, p. 287, 22; iv, 40: III, p. 294, 6.

[7] Kantak. iv, 42: III, pp. 310, 10–311, 2.

Maria had perhaps one child, Antonios Kantakouzenos (*No. 28*)

Maria Kantakouzene m. Nikephoros II
basilissa Despot
(died after 1359) of Epiros
(died 1359)
?
Antonios Kantakouzenos

No. 28

ANTONIOS KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit *ca.* 1400)

Antonios appears to have been the founder of the original chapel of the monastery of St. Stephen at the Meteora about 1400. His portrait inscribed with his name is painted on the west wall of the chapel. A manuscript containing the Liturgies of St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil, and the Presanctified in the monastery of the Great Meteoron bears his name as the founder of the monastery of Stephen. It has the date 1404 and the following signature:

> ἐγράφη παρὰ Ἀντωνίου Καντακουζηνοῦ καὶ κτήτορος τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου πλησίον τῆς μεγάλης θυμῆς [θομῆς: Uspenskij, Adamantiou] ὀνομαζόμενον Σταγοὺς ἔτος ͵αυδʹ.

It has been plausibly suggested that Antonios was the son of Maria Kantakouzene (*No. 27*) and Nikephoros of Epiros.[9]

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[8] Kantak. iv, 33: III, pp. 314–319. Greg. xxxvii, 50: III, pp. 556–557. Cf. Parisot, *Notice*, pp. 135 f., 148–149. *Chronicle of Ioannina*, ed. S. Cirac Estopañan, *Bizancio y España. El legado de la basilissa María y de los déspotas Thomas y Esaú de Ioannina*, II (Barcelona, 1943), pp. 36–37. Nicol, *Meteora*, p. 61.

[9] P. Uspenskij, *Putešestvie v Meteorskie i Osoolimpijskie Monastyri v Thessalii v 1859 godu* (St. Petersburg, 1896), pp. 120–122, 428; A. Adamantiou, Ἐργασίαι ἐν Μετεώροις, Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (1909), pp. 223–224; G. A. Sotiriou, Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλίας ΙΓʹ καὶ ΙΔʹ αἰῶνος. Αἱ Μοναὶ τῶν Μετεώρων, *EEBS*, IX (1932), pp. 388, 405; Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 126–127.

No. 29

THEODORA KANTAKOUZENE (died after 1381)

Theodora was probably the second daughter of John VI and Eirene. She married the Turkish emir Orchan, son of Osman, Emir of Bithynia, in the early summer of 1346. The proposal came from Orchan himself partly with a view to strengthening the ties of alliance and friendship that bound him to John VI, but partly because he was passionately in love with Theodora. The wedding took place at Selymbria and was attended by all the members of Theodora's family. Theodora clung tenaciously to her Orthodox faith after her marriage despite many attempts to convert her to Islam; she became a pillar of strength to the Christian slaves in her husband's realm and a shining example of virtue to all.[1]

She paid a three-day visit to her mother and sisters in Constantinople when Orchan brought four of his sons to be entertained by John VI at Skoutari in the spring of 1347 shortly before John's coronation.[2]

The Turkish chronicler Enveri records that John VI had in 1344 proposed the marriage of one of his three daughters, the "Despina," to Umur, Emir of Aydin. Umur is said to have declined the offer, however, even after the girl herself had unveiled her face to him and done her best to seduce him. This story may well have a basis of truth; and it has been suggested that the girl in question must have been Theodora.[3] It has also been suggested that the son of Orchan called Halil, who died soon after the accession of his half-brother Murad I in 1362, may have been the child of Theodora.[4]

[1] Kantak. iii, 95: II, pp. 585, 18–589, 11, who gives a full account of the ceremony attending Theodora's marriage. Greg. xv, 5: II, pp. 762, 18–763,15, who mistakenly calls her Maria, but emphasizes the strength of Orchan's passion for her. Chalk. i: I, p. 21, 10 f. (Darkó); p. 24 (*CSHB*). Doukas x, 1–2: pp. 58–61 (Grecu), who thoroughly disapproved of this union, dates the betrothal of Theodora to Orchan in January (1346); Doukas, p. 59, 25–26: ἔτυχε γὰρ αὕτη ἡ μιαρὰ μνηστεῖα ἐν Ἰανουαρίῳ μηνὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ τότε χρόνου.

[2] Kantak. iv, 4: III, p. 28, 5–24.

[3] Enveri, *Le Destan*, 1739–1810: pp. 106–108. Lemerle, *L'Emirat*, pp. 175–176, 204 note 1, 220–221.

[4] Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, p. 36. Halil was the youngest of the six sons of Orchan by his various marriages. He was captured by Genoese pirates off the coast of Asia Minor in 1356 and held to ransom by Kalothetos, governor of Phokaia. The incident became the subject of a

After Orchan's death in 1362 Theodora seems to have returned to Constantinople to live with her sister, the Empress Helena. For in 1379 "the sisters" of Helena (i.e., Theodora and Maria), as well as the Empress herself and their aged father the ex-Emperor John VI, were taken as hostages to Galata by Andronikos IV. They were released in 1381. Theodora was thus still alive in 1381; but the date of her death is not known.[5]

Theodora Kantakouzene m. Orchan (died 1362)
| ?
Halil

No. 30

HELENA KANTAKOUZENE PALAIOLOGINA, Empress of Constantinople (1333–1396)

Helena seems to have been the youngest of the three daughters of John VI and Eirene. She became the wife and Empress of John V Palaiologos. She was born in 1333 and betrothed to John Palaiologos shortly after her father entered Constantinople as Emperor in February 1347. She arrived in the capital with her mother and sisters from Adrianople. After she had been invested with the regalia and title of Empress of the Romans her wedding to John took place in the church of the Virgin in Blachernai on 28 or 29

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war between Kalothetos and John V, acting on behalf of Orchan; and John V had to pay Kalothetos 100,000 hyperpyra and promise him the title of *panhypersebastos* to effect Halil's release. The affair ended with the betrothal of Halil to John V's ten-year old daughter Eirene Palaiologina. Kantak. iv, 44: III, pp. 320–322. Greg. xxxvi, 6–15: III, pp. 504–509. Villani, *Croniche*, cap. LXXI, p. 235; cap. LXXVIII, p. 237. Cf. Parisot, pp. 298–301; Parisot, *Notice*, pp. 169–170, 251–254. For the sons of Orchan, see I. H. Uzunçarşili, *Osmanli Tarihi*, I (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan, XIII. seri – No. 16^{1} [Ankara, 1947]), p. 61 and note 2; Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, Tables XXII, LXI, pp. 165, 184; F. Babinger, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III (London, 1936), p. 1000; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, in *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, parts 94/95 (Istanbul, 1962), p. 407.

[5] Letter of Demetrios Kydones to Helena, Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 222, pp. 103–110. Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, p. 34. See below under Helena Kantakouzene (*No. 30*). The date of Orchan's death (March 1362) is supplied by Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 52, p. 89, 28; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 349–351.

May 1347, on the eighth day after the coronation of her father by the Patriarch Isidore. Gregoras records that Helena was then fourteen years old and her husband sixteen. John V, who had himself been crowned Emperor by the Patriarch John Kalekas on 19 November 1341, placed the crown on his wife's head with his own hands.[1]

Helena had earlier accompanied her mother and sister to Selymbria for the wedding of her other sister Theodora to the Emir Orchan in 1346. Shortly after her own marriage Orchan sent an agent to Constantinople to assassinate her husband, thinking thereby to do John VI a good turn.[2]

In 1352 Helena went with her husband and her younger son Manuel, then two years old, to Thrace to take over the cities allotted to him by John VI. Gregoras claims that she later came from Tenedos to Constantinople to protect her father from the possible consequences of the conversion of John V to the anti-Palamite cause.[3]

In her role as Empress in Constantinople Helena was a patroness of the arts and more especially a benefactress of Demetrios Kydones, whose letters to her provide valuable information about her participation in political as well as literary life. Most of his letters to her date from the years between 1371 and 1392. But in the earliest of them, written before 1352, Kydones compliments Helena not only on her beauty but also on her literary style as manifested in some ἐπινίκιοι λόγοι that she had composed in praise of her father.[4]

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[1] Greg. xv, 11: II, pp. 788, 9; 791, 16–21. Kantak. iv, 1: III, p. 9, 13–14; pp. 11, 21–12, 3; iv, 4: III, p. 29, 15–18; p. 30, 15–23. Doukas x, 3–4: pp. 63–65 (Grecu); pp. 38–39 (*CSHB*). Helena's wedding took place "seven days after" her father's coronation on 21 May 1347 or "on the eighth day after." Cf. Greg. II, p. 791, 16f., and Kantak. III, p. 29, 15f. Doukas, p. 65, 7–8 (Grecu), says that Helena was thirteen at the time. John V was born on 18 June 1332 in Didymoteichos. Greg. x, 3: I, p. 482, 1–3; Papadopulos, no. 73. Kantak. iii, 16: II, p. 104, 3–14, implies that John V's mother, the Empress Anne of Savoy, contemplated the marriage of her son to a daughter of John Kantakouzenos as early as September 1341 as a means of solving the constitutional crisis. Cf. Doukas v, 2: pp. 41–42 (Grecu); p. 20 (*CSHB*).

[2] Kantak. iii, 96: II, p. 588, 1–3; iv, 16: III, p. 111, 13f.

[3] Kantak. iv, 32: III, p. 238, 18–19. Greg. xxvii, 29: III, p. 150, 7–9; xxix, 42–43, 58: III, pp. 252–253, 264.

[4] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 389, p. 340. Five other letters of Kydones are addressed to Helena. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, no. 25; II, nos. 134, 143, 222, 256. He dedicated to her a translation of one of the works of St. Augustine (letter no. 25).

When her son Andronikos IV rebelled against his father in 1376 Helena tried in vain to steer a middle course and reconcile the two parties; and when John V and his two other sons, Theodore and Manuel, were put in prison in October 1376 she became the victim of conflicting sympathies and the butt of both sides. Their escape from prison three years later in June 1379 was attributed to her machinations. Andronikos IV fled to Galata taking with him as hostages Helena and her aged father John as well as her two sisters Maria and Theodora. There they were detained in strict confinement; and their privations were materially increased during the subsequent siege of the fortress of Galata. Not until May 1381, following the pact made between John V and Andronikos IV, were Helena and her relatives allowed to return to Constantinople where, if Kydones is to be believed, they, and more especially she, received a tumultuous welcome from the people.[5]

John V Palaiologos died on 16 February 1391 and some time thereafter Helena became a nun with the name of Hypomone in the convent of Kyra Martha in Constantinople. Among the friends to whom she distributed some of her property was Demetrios Kydones. The date of her vocation may be after July 1392, for at that time there is evidence that she was still taking an active part in affairs of state.[6] She survived her husband by five years and died between October and December, probably in November, 1396.[7]

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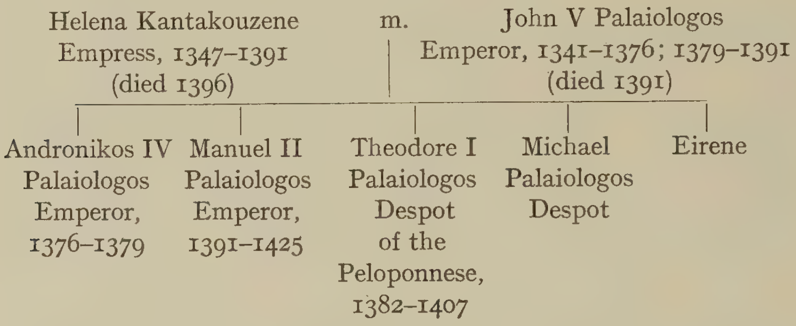
[5] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 222, pp. 103–110. Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, p. 34 (*MPG*, CLVI, 205D). Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 52, p. 89, 31–33; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 352–355. Loenertz, *Chron. Vat.*, nos. 11, 13, 14, pp. 208–209. Doukas xii, 3: p. 73 (Grecu); pp. 45–46 (*CSHB*). Chalk. ii: I, pp. 55–58 (Darkó); pp. 62–63 (*CSHB*). Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 41–46.

[6] Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 52, p. 89, 47–49; Charanis, *Chron.*, pp. 357–358. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 222, pp. 108–110. Loenertz, *Chron. Vat.*, no. 15, p. 209. An act of the Venetian Senate of 20 July 1392 refers to a letter written to Constantinople announcing the arrival of Venetian ambassadors to have audience, of the Emperor (Manuel II) and his mother (Helena). Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 820, p. 196. Cf. R.-J. Loenertz, "Manuel Paléologue et Démétrius Cydonès," *EO*, XXXVI (1937), pp. 281–282; Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, p. 15 note 47. Helena's name as the nun Hypomone is given in a list of deceased emperors and empresses in a manuscript in the monastery of Koutloumousiou on Mount Athos. Politis, *Eine Schreiberschule*, p. 274.

[7] V. Laurent, "La date de la mort d'Hélène Cantacuzène, femme de Jean V Paléologue," *REB*, XIII (1955), pp. 135–138, and "La date de la mort d'Hélène Cantacuzène. Une précision," *REB*, XIV (1956), pp. 200–201. The story of John V's second marriage, supposedly to Eudokia, daughter of Alexios III of Trebizond, recounted by Chalkokondyles (Chalk. ii: I, pp. 75–

Helena had four sons: the future Emperors Andronikos IV born on 11 April 1348 and Manuel II born on 17 June 1350;[8] Theodore born after 1350, Despot of the Peloponnese from 1382 to 1407, and Michael the Despot born after 1351. She had also a daughter, Eirene, born in 1349.[9] None of her children seems to have adopted her family name of Kantakouzenos.


Helena Kantakouzene
Empress, 1347–1391
(died 1396)
m.
John V Palaiologos
Emperor, 1341–1376; 1379–1391
(died 1391)
Andronikos IV Palaiologos Emperor, 1376–1379
Manuel II Palaiologos Emperor, 1391–1425
Theodore I Palaiologos Despot of the Peloponnese, 1382–1407
Michael Palaiologos Despot
Eirene

No. 31

N. KOMNENOS TARCHANEIOTES DOUKAS KANTAKOUZENOS (died 1321?)

Manuel Philes composed an epitaph for this member of the family after his death "in foreign parts." He may have been an uncle of the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos.[1]

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76 (Darkó); pp. 81–82 (*CSHB*)) has been rejected by V. Laurent, *op. cit.*, *REB*, XIII (1955), pp. 135–138, and further by R.-J. Loenertz, "Une erreur singulière de Laonic Chalcocandyle. Le prétendu second mariage de Jean V Paléologue," *REB*, XV (1957), pp. 176–181. But see Politis, *Eine Schreiberschule*, p. 272 and note 94.

[8] Cf. Papadopulos, nos. 81, 84. The exact date of the birth of Andronikos is provided only by Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, no. 49, pp. 339, 371–373. Cf. P. Wirth, "Wann wurde Kaiser Andronikos IV geboren?", *BZ*, LV (1962), p. 39. The date of Manuel's birth was calculated by Loenertz, *op. cit.*, *REB*, XV (1957), pp. 182–183, as 27 June 1350; but this should be emended to 17 June. See Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, p. 373.

[9] Cf. Papadopulos, nos. 85, 87, 88. Schreiner, *Chron. Mosqu.* iii, p. 373. Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, Tables XXIII, LXI, lists two other daughters of John V as wives of Yakub and of Bayezid I, the sons of the Sultan Murad I.

[1] Philes, ed. Martini, no. 88, pp. 125–126: 'Επιτάφιοι Κομνηνῷ Δούκᾳ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ πεσόντι ἐν γῇ βαρβάρων.

Philes describes him as Komnenos Tarchaneiotes Doukas Kantakouzenos; he came of imperial stock, was the son of a Domestic τῆς τραπέζης, and married a daughter of the Emperor's nephew. He was also apparently connected with the "wife of the Grand Domestic"; it was she who buried his mortal remains in the family vault after his premature death in battle, or at least on campaign against the barbarians.[2]

It is tempting to identify this Kantakouzenos with John Tarchaneiotes, third son of Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes and Maria-Martha, sister of the Emperor Michael VIII, who appears to have been the "uncle" whose obsequies John VI Kantakouzenos attended in April 1321 when still Grand Domestic.[3] Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes was ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης of the Emperors John III Batatzes and Michael VIII Palaiologos.[4] His son John had a somewhat stormy career of exile and imprisonment largely because of his Arsenite convictions, though he commanded the eastern armies with some success in 1298–1299 and was restored to imperial favor in 1304.[5]

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[2] Philes, *loc. cit.*, lines 6–10, 13–28:

καὶ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς εὑρεθεὶς ῥίζης κλάδος
(ἐπεὶ βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἔσχες γένος,
ὁ δὲ σπορεὺς ἦν ὡς μέγας καὶ τὴν φύσιν
τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης δομέστικος),
ὥσπερ συκῆς ἔμπικρον ἐρρίφης θρίον,
. . . .
γαμβρὸν δ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ δυστυχῶς τῇ φιλτάτῃ
ἀδελφιδοῦς ἄνακτος ἐκτήσατό σε.
νυνὶ δ' ἂν ἀθρήνητος εὑρέθης ξένος,
ἂν οὐκ ἀνεσκεύαζεν ἐκρεύσαντά σε,
τῆς φύσεως τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης,
ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου σύζυγος δομεστίκου
. . . .
κάθευδε λοιπόν, ὦ πρὸ μικροῦ νυμφίε,
πλὴν τῆς γυναῖκος τοῦτον οἰκῶν τὸν τάφον.

[3] Kantak. i, 12: I, p. 57, 9–12: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν [μέγας δομέστικος, θείου αὐτῷ τοῦ Ταρχανειώτου, ἀδελφῆς τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως Μιχαὴλ υἱοῦ τεθνηκότος, παρῆν ἐκεῖ πενθήσων ἐπὶ κειμένῳ τῷ συγγενεῖ.

[4] Akrop. 36: p. 55, 15; 40: p. 66, 20; 49: p. 89, 15.

[5] Pachym. *de Mich. Pal.* iv, 18: I, p. 292, 9, 17; iv, 19: I, pp. 295, 21–296, 5; *de Andron. Pal.* i, 12: II, p. 38, 6; ii, 12: II, pp. 134–137; iii, 7: II, p.207, 17 f.; iii, 25: II, pp. 258–262; iii, 29: II, p. 271, 6; iv, 2: II, p. 281, 11; vi, 2: II, p. 462, 2 f. He may be the John Tarchaneiotes, beneficiary of a chrysobull of Andronikos II in 1303. Cf. *DR*, IV, no. 2257.

If this identification is correct it remains to determine why John Tarchaneiotes should be given the name Kantakouzenos by Philes. The fact that the name is never applied to him by Pachymeres is not conclusive. But in default of clearer evidence the best that can be said is that close family relationships are known to have existed between the houses of Kantakouzenos and Tarchaneiotes in the fourteenth century if not earlier. John VI himself claimed to have inherited from his father the possession of the convent of Kyra Martha in Constantinople, founded by Maria-Martha, the wife of Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes.[6] Manuel Tarchaneiotes, who was killed at the battle of Pelekanon in 1329 and who may have been a son of John Tarchaneiotes, is described by John VI as his nephew.[7] Another Manuel Tarchaneiotes, called Kourtikes, who fought with and for John VI in 1340–1343, is described by Gregoras as being a blood relation of the Emperor.[8]

No. 32

N. KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit *ca.* 1300)

The father of Nikephoros Kantakouzenos, John VI's cousin (*No. 34*) and possibly of Na Kantakouzene (*No. 33*). He was perhaps a brother of John VI's father (*No. 20*).[9]

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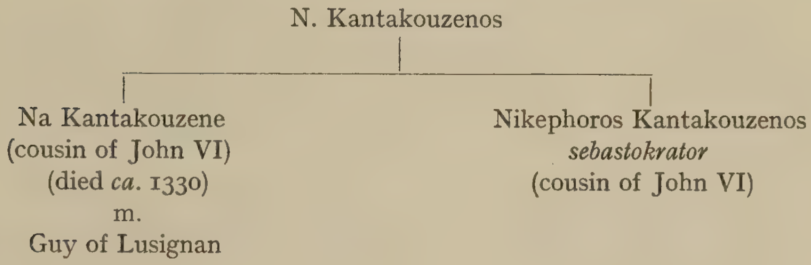
[6] See *supra, No. 20* note 11.

[7] Kantak. ii, 8: I, p. 362, 1–3. Cf. Binon, *Prostagma*, p. 148 and note 2. Nikephoros Choumnos mentions a nephew of the *protobestiarios* (Michael) Tarchaneiotes, brother of John, who died leaving his wife, a niece of Choumnos, a widow of seventeen years of age with two small children. He might be the Manuel Tarchaneiotes killed at Pelekanon. Nik. Choumnos, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* (Paris, 1844), no. 85, pp. 107–108. Cf. J. Verpeaux, "La famille Choumnos," *BS*, XX (1959), no. 22, pp. 262–263.

[8] Greg. xii, 16: II, p. 627, 18: Μανουήλ τε ὁ Ταρχανειώτης, τῶν συγγενῶν ὑπάρχων τις τῷ βασιλεῖ. Greg. xiii, 4: II, p. 652, 13 f.: Μανουὴλ ὁ Ταρχανειώτης, ὃς δὴ καθ' αἷμα προσήκων τῷ βασιλεῖ. Kantak. iii, 10: II, p. 71, 16: τὸν Ταρχανειώτην Μανουὴλ, τὸν καὶ Κουρτίκην προσαγορευόμενον. Cf. Kantak. iii, 32: II, p. 195, 11; iii, 54: pp. 322–323; iii, 70: p. 430, 3. On the Turkish or Armenian name of Kourtikes, see Moritz, *Zunamen*, II, pp. 15–16. For other members of the Kourtikes family, see Ahrweiler, *La région de Smyrne*, pp. 140–141.

[9] Cf. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 259; Filitti, p. 4.

THE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS


N. Kantakouzenos
Na Kantakouzene
(cousin of John VI)
(died *ca.* 1330)
m.
Guy of Lusignan
Nikephoros Kantakouzenos
sebastokrator
(cousin of John VI)

No. 33

Na KANTAKOUZENE (died *ca.* 1330)

A cousin (ἐξαδέλφη) of the Emperor John VI, perhaps a sister of Nikephoros Kantakouzenos the *sebastokrator* (*No. 34*). She married Guy of Lusignan who came from Armenia to Constantinople about 1318. The marriage lasted for a long time but there was no issue. In 1330–1332, after her death, Guy of Lusignan married again: his second wife was a daughter of Syrgiannes Palaiologos the *pinkernes*. Isabelle of Lusignan, the child of his second marriage, became the wife of Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 25*), son of John VI.[10]

Na Kantakouzene m. Guy of Lusignan
(no issue)

No. 34

NIKEPHOROS KANTAKOUZENOS, *sebastokrator* (floruit 1340–1360)

A cousin (ἐξάδελφος) of the Emperor John VI.[11] He was arrested and imprisoned in Constantinople by Alexios Apokaukos, along with other members of the Kantakouzenos family, when the civil war broke out in October 1341. He led a deputation to the Empress Anne, accompanied by John Gabalas Raoul, from those who had taken refuge outside the city after the coup d'état. Gabalas became a turncoat and went over to the Empress' side at once, being rewarded with the title of *protosebastos* and later with the rank of Grand Logothete. Nikephoros was put in prison.[12] In a chrysobull of November 1342 in the monastery of Philotheou John V Palaiologos refers to him as "the faithless rebel Nikephoros Kantakouzenos."[13]

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[10] Greg. xii, 15: II, p. 623, 9. Binon, *Guy d'Arménie*, pp. 126–127, 136; Binon, *Prostagma*, p. 382; Hill, *Cyprus*, II, pp. 267–268.

[11] Kantak. iii, 22: II, p. 138, 18–19: . . . τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν ἀπολεξάμενοι Νικηφόρον, ὃς ἐξάδελφος τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ ἦν. . . .

He was presumably released when his cousin entered Constantinople as Emperor in 1347. In 1352 he is found defending the citadel of Adrianople with John VI's son Matthew when Matthew was attacked by John V; and in 1355 Nikephoros was in command of Adrianople with the title of *sebastokrator*.[14] The fact that Nikephoros is called the "uncle" (θεῖος) of Matthew Kantakouzenos need not indicate that he was a brother of John VI, as has been generally assumed since the time of DuCange.[15] In the Chronicle of Michael Panaretos, Nikephoros Kantakouzenos the *sebastokrator* is clearly defined, in the year 1351, as a "first cousin" (πρῶτος ἐξάδελφος) of the Emperor John VI. There is in fact no contemporary evidence for the existence of any brothers or sisters of John VI.[16]

Nikephoros had at least one daughter, Theodora Komnene Kantakouzene (*No. 35*), who married the Emperor Alexios III of

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[12] Kantak. iii, 22: II, pp. 138, 17–139, 6. For the identification of John Gabalas with John Raoul, see R.-J. Loenertz, "Dix-huit lettres de Grégoire Acindyne analysées et datées," *OCP*, XXIII (1957), pp. 128–129.

[13] Regel, *Philotheou*, no. VII, p. 21, 8–9 and 12: ... τοῦ ἀποστάτου καὶ ἀπίστου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ. This document should be assigned to John V rather than John VI. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 2884.

[14] Kantak. iv, 33: III, p. 242, 22; iv, 42: III, p. 310, 9.

[15] DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, pp. 259–260. Cf. Papadopulos, no. 26. DuCange's assertion seems to rest on the passage in Kantak. (iv, 42: III, p. 310, 9–10) where (Nikephoros) Kantakouzenos, commander of Adrianople, is described as being θεῖον ὄντα πρὸς πατρός of John VI's son Matthew. But this can as well refer, in late Byzantine terminology, to John VI's cousin as to his brother. For the wide application of the term θεῖος, cf. Binon, *Prostagma*, pp. 146–149.

[16] Panaretos, ed. Lambros, pp. 277–278; ed. Lampsides, p. 70, 5–7: ἡ θυγάτηρ κῦρ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος, πρώτου ἐξαδέλφου ὄντος τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων κῦρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ. The evidence for one Andronikos, allegedly a brother of the Emperor John VI, who became the monk Akakios, contained in a compilation of histories of various Athonite monasteries in an undated manuscript in the monastery of Vatopedi is, to say the least, inconclusive. Cf. S. Eustratiades and Arcadios of Vatopedi, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), no. 383, 3, fol. 22^{a}: Περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως δεσπότου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ μετονομασθέντος Ἀκακίου καὶ τῶν ἀφιερωμάτων αὐτῶν τῇ μονῇ.

Trebizond in 1351; and perhaps also a son, Manuel Kantakouzenos Strategopoulos (*No. 36*).

Nikephoros Kantakouzenos m. Na
sebastokrator
?

Theodora Komnene Kantakouzene
(nun Theodosia)
m.
Alexios III Emperor of Trebizond

Manuel Kantakouzenos
Strategopoulos
m.
daughter
of George Choumnos

No. 35

THEODORA KOMNENE KANTAKOUZENE, Empress of Trebizond (born *ca.* 1340; died before 1400)

Theodora was a daughter of Nikephoros Kantakouzenos the *sebastokrator* (*No. 34*).[17] She became the wife and Empress of Alexios III of Trebizond (1349–1390).

Alexios III Komnenos, second son of the Emperor Basil (died 1340), was raised to the throne of Trebizond over the heads of Michael Komnenos, son of John II, and his son John, with the active support of John VI Kantakouzenos, then Emperor in Constantinople. He was crowned in the church of St. Eugenios in Trebizond on 21 January 1350. The deposed Emperor Michael was sent, after a period of incarceration, to Constantinople in 1351 with a delegation led by the *tatas* Michael Sampson, whose purpose was to find a wife for Alexios. The search was no doubt directed under the auspices of John VI, for the wife found was his cousin's daughter, the *despoina* (Theodora) Komnene Kantakouzene. She reached Trebizond from Constantinople on 3 September 1351 and was married to the Emperor Alexios in the church of St. Eugenios on 28 September of the same year.[18]

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[17] Panaretos, ed. Lambros, pp. 277–278; ed. Lampsides, p. 70, 3–5: ἡ δέσποινα ἡ Κομνηνή, ἡ Καντακουζηνή... ἡ θυγάτηρ κῦρ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος.

[18] Panaretos, ed. Lambros, pp. 276–278; ed. Lampsides, pp. 69, 8–18; 70, 3–8. John Lazaropoulos, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik Istočnikov po istorii Trapezunckoj Imperii*, I (St. Petersburg, 1897), p. 135.

Alexios III died on 20 March 1390 after a reign of forty years and three months at the age of fifty-one. He was thus born in 1339 and married Theodora when he was twelve or thirteen. Assuming that she was about ten or eleven at the time she may have been born about 1340.[19]

Theodora seems to have survived her husband by a few years, to have returned to Constantinople and taken the veil after his death, and to have died before 1400. For the nun Theodosia Kantakouzene described as "the late Empress of the East" in a document of the Patriarch Matthew I (1397–1410) of June 1400 may be presumed to be Theodora.[20] This document refers in part to money which Theodosia had sent, while still reigning Empress of Trebizond, to "her late sister the *despoina*" in Constantinople which, after her return from Trebizond, she spent on the construction of a *xenon* or hospice and on the support and restoration of various religious institutions in the capital. She also leased some of her landed property at Blanga outside the walls of the city to the monk Neilos Kanabes and his former wife Martha Kanabina on condition that after their death it should revert to the *xenon* which she had built.[21]

Portraits of Theodora and her husband Alexios are to be seen on the chrysobull with which he endowed the monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos in September 1374 (fig. 9). She is shown crowned as a

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Her first name is not supplied by the Trapezuntine chroniclers but is known from the documents and portraits.

[19] Panaretos, ed. Lambros, pp. 292–293; ed. Lampsides, pp. 80, 33–81, 3.

[20] *MM*, II, no. DLXXVIII, pp. 394–395; p. 394, 1 f.: Ἡ ἀοίδιμος καὶ μακαρῖτις ἐκείνη καὶ ἁγία μου βασιλὶς, ἡ δέσποινα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, κυρὰ Θεοδοσία μοναχὴ ἡ Καντακουζηνή.... For the titles of βασιλεὺς and δέσποινα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς as applied to the emperors and empresses of Trebizond, see A. A. Vasiliev, "Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), pp. 30–35.

[21] Cf. Janin, *Les églises*, p. 576. The name of Theodosia's late sister, described by the Patriarch as τὴν ἀοίδιμον ἐκείνην καὶ ἁγίαν μου δέσποιναν, τὴν αὐταδέλφην αὐτῆς..., is not disclosed. But the reference may be to the ex-Empress Helena Kantakouzene, a sister in the religious sense, who became a nun in the convent of Kyra Martha after 1392 and died in 1396. Other members of the Kanabes family in the fourteenth century are known from the poems of Constantine Amanteianos (Nikephoros Angelos Kanabes and his wife Maria Kasandrene Kanabina) and from the poems of Manuel Philes (John Kanabes and Hilarion Kanabes). There was a monastery of St. Demetrios called ὁ Κανάβης in Constantinople. Bassi, *Sette epigrammi*, nos. III–VII, pp. 394–398; Philes, ed. Miller, I, pp. 9 and 67; *MM*, I, p. 568 (document of November 1334); Janin, *Les églises*, p. 95.

Byzantine Empress and her cloak is embroidered with double-headed eagles. The accompanying legend reads: Θεοδώρα Χριστοῦ χάριτι εὐσεβεστάτη δέσποινα, μεγάλη Κομνηνή.[22] Similar portraits of Theodora and her husband appeared on a chrysobull of Alexios III Komnenos for the monastery of Soumela near Trebizond, dated December 1364.[23] Another portrait, now destroyed, of Theodora with her husband and his mother Eirene was painted on a wall of the church of the Panagia Theoskepastos in Trebizond, of which Eirene was the foundress (fig. 10).[24]

None of her many children seems to have adopted the name of Kantakouzenos. They were Basil (born in September 1358), Manuel (born in December 1364), who succeeded his father as Manuel III of Trebizond (1390–1417), Eudokia, and Anna. Anna, who was born on 6 April 1357, became the second wife of Bagrat V, King of Georgia, in June 1367.[25] Eudokia married Taceddin, Emir of Limnia, on 8 October 1379.[26] Three other daughters of Alexios III are mentioned in the sources, but their names are not recorded: one married Suleiman Bey, Emir of Chalybia; another married Osman

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[22] J. Dräseke, "Von Dionysioskloster auf dem Athos," *BZ*, II (1893), p. 86. P. Lemerle, "A propos de la fondation du Monastère de Koutloumous: Un faux chrysobulle d'Alexis III Empereur de Trébizonde," *BCH*, LVIII (1934), p. 230 note 1. F. Dölger, *Mönchsland Athos* (Munich, 1943), pp. 96–97, figs. 51–52. Chrysanthos, *Trebizond*, pp. 507–513 and pls. 85, 88. Cf. the *prostagma* of Alexios IV of Trebizond for the monastery of Dionysiou of September 1416 in which the Emperor refers to the chrysobull of his grandfather (Alexios III). Dölger, *Schatzk.*, no. 27, pp. 73–75.

[23] A copy (now lost) of this document was published as the original by J. P. Fallmerayer, *Original Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und anderes Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt* (*Abhandlungen der III Classe der K. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, III, Abt. III, [Munich, 1843]), I, pp. 49–51, 92–100; text reproduced in *MM*, V, pp. 276–281. Cf. Sp. Lambros, in *NH*, III (1906), pp. 482–485; *NH*, IV (1907), pp. 243–244; Chrysanthos, *Trebizond*, pp. 474–475; Lemerle, *op. cit.*, *BCH*, LVIII (1934), p. 227 note 1; Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, *Speculum*, XI (1936), p. 34 and note 4.

[24] A drawing of this portrait was made by C. Texier, *Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1862), p. 597 and pl. 64. Cf. C. Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1864), pp. 201–202 and pl. LXVI; J. P. Fallmerayer, *Original Fragmente*, etc., I, pp. 66, 102; II, p. 96; *idem*, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. 79; Chrysanthos, *Trebizond*, pp. 442–443 and pl. 55; Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, *Speculum*, XI (1936), p. 35; O. Lampsides, Σύμμεικτα εἰς τὸ Χρονικὸν Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου, Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, XXIII (1959), pp. 48–52.

[25] Panaretos, ed. Lambros, pp. 280–282, 285, 289–290; ed. Lampsides, pp. 72–73, 75, 76, 78. Toumanoff, *Bagratids*, p. 171 and note 9.

[26] Panaretos, ed. Lambros, p. 290; ed. Lampsides, p. 79, 9–11. Alexios III also had a son called Andronikos, but not by Theodora (Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, p. 72, 3–4).

Bey Kara-Ilük, Khan of the Turkoman horde of the White Sheep (Ak-Koyunlu), who died in 1435; the third is said to have been the wife of Tahartan (Zaratan), Emir of Arzinga.[27]

Theodora Komnene Kantakouzene (nun Theodosia) (died before 1400) m. Alexios III, Emperor of Trebizond (died 1390)

Basil

Eudokia m. Taceddin Emir of Limnia

Anna m. Bagrat V of Georgia, 1360–1395

Manuel III, Emperor of Trebizond, 1390–1417

No. 36

MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS STRATEGOPOULOS (floruit 1340–1350)

Manuel married a daughter of George Choumnos, *megas stratopedarches*, the second son of Nikephoros Choumnos. His connection with the Choumnos family seems to have led him into opposing the action of his relative John Kantakouzenos in 1341; for he joined his father-in-law and brother-in-law in helping Alexios Apokaukos to persuade the Empress Anne of John's revolutionary intentions.[28]

It is possible that he is to be identified with the Manuel Kantakouzenos described as a nephew (ἀνεψιός) of John Kantakouzenos who was sent with Metrophanes, Bishop of Melnik, to negotiate with John V Palaiologos in Didymoteichos in the autumn of 1352. He might thus be a son of Nikephoros Kantakouzenos the *sebastokrator* (*No. 34*).[29]

Manuel Kantakouzenos Strategopoulos m. Na Choumnaina

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[27] Panaretos, ed. Lambros, p. 292; ed. Lampsides, p. 80, 14–15. Doukas xxii: p. 124, 24–125, 2 (*CSHB*). Clavijo, p. 71. Cf. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte*, pp. 209, 247.

[28] Kantak. iii, 20: II, p. 126, 15–16: . . . ὁ Χοῦμνος ἅμα υἱεῖ τε καὶ κηδεστῇ Μανουὴλ Καντακουζηνῷ τῷ στρατηγοπούλῳ καὶ Γαβαλᾶς ὁμοίως βασιλίδι προσελθόντες . . . . Cf. J. Verpeaux, "La famille Choumnos," *BS*, XX (1959), p. 261.

[29] Kantak. iv, 34: III, p. 251, 6–7. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 3003.

No. 37

Na KANTAKOUZENE (floruit *ca.* 1300)

The mother of John Angelos the *pinkernes* who so loyally served John Kantakouzenos during the civil war of 1341–1347 and was rewarded with the governorship of Thessaly in 1342.

John Angelos is variously described in the sources as a "close relation," a "cousin," a "first cousin," or a "nephew" of John Kantakouzenos, and as an "uncle" of John's son Manuel. He appears not to have himself borne the name Kantakouzenos and it must therefore be assumed that his close relationship with the Grand Domestic came from his mother, a Kantakouzene, who must have married into the family of Angelos.[30] His own wife is known to have been a daughter of Andronikos Palaiologos the *protobestiarios*; and he was brought up and trained in the arts of war by John Kantakouzenos himself. He first comes into prominence as governor of Kastoria for Andronikos II in 1327–1328.[31]

The antecedents of John Angelos are obscure enough without the terminological discrepancies of Kantakouzenos and Gregoras.[32]

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[30] It has been suggested that he was a son of Andronikos Tarchaneiotes, Grand Constable of Michael VIII, who is known to have married a daughter of John I Doukas the *sebastokrator* of Thessaly. Buonocore, *Nemagni*, p. 254 and note 5: "Questo Giovanni Angelo, che risulta *cugino* dell'Imperatore Cantacuzeno e nel contempo *avuncolo* del figlio del Cantacuzeno (Du Cange, *Historia* cit., p. 259–260), cioè parente per la madre Asan o per la nonna Tarcagnota-Cantacuzena, era senza dubbio figlio di Andronico Tarcagnota, zio materno dell' Imperatore Cantacuzeno, e di una Angela di Tessaglia, zia paterna di Giovanni II Sebastocratore (ivi, p. 211, 232 e 259)."

[31] Kantak. i, 54: I, p. 274, 1–4: (Καστορίας) ... ὁ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου γαμβρὸς ὁ Ἄγγελος ἄρχει, ὃς ἐμοί τε ἔγγιστα προσήκει κατὰ γένος καὶ πολλὴν ἐμοὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν εὐπείθειαν ὀφείλει, ἐκθρεψαμένῳ τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ πολέμια διδάξαντι.

[32] John Angelos is described as ἐξάδελφος once by Kantak. (ii, 6: I, p. 350, 1) and twice as πρωτεξάδελφος by Greg. (xii, 16: II, p. 628, 7; xiii, 6: II, p. 657, 1). Kantak. describes him as his ἀνεψιός eleven times: Kantak. iii, 11: II, p. 77, 17; iii, 27: II, p. 167, 2; iii, 30: II, p. 187, 16; iii, 32: II, p. 195, 22–23; iii, 53: II, p. 312, 6; iii, 58: II, p. 355, 12; iii, 58: II, p. 359, 4; iii, 61: II, p. 374, 1–2; iii, 64: II, p. 391, 18; iii, 64: II, p. 394, 12; iv, 20: III, p. 147, 22. He is described as θεῖος of Manuel Kantakouzenos at Kantak. iv, 4: III, p. 31, 16. In his chrysobull appointing John as governor of Thessaly Kantak. refers to him as: προσήκοντά τε μάλιστα ἐξ αἵματος (Kantak. iii, 53: II, p. 311, 4–7), as: κατὰ γένος τε αὐτῷ προσήκοντα (Kantak. iii, 53: II, pp. 311, 25–312, 1), and as: τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμῖν τοῦ γένους ῥίζης τετυχηκὼς καὶ βασιλικοῖς βρύων αἵμασι (Kantak. iii, 53: II, p. 318, 8–9). The references to him in this docu-

However, from the fact that he, like Kantakouzenos himself, is designated as a γαμβρός of the Emperor Andronikos III, we may deduce that he is of the same generation as Kantakouzenos and therefore more likely to be his cousin than his nephew. In this case his mother was an aunt of John Kantakouzenos and may thus have been a sister of John's father who married a member of the family of Angelos.[33]

Na Kantakouzene m. N. Angelos
|
John Angelos
pinkernes
(died 1348)

No. 38

NIKEPHOROS KANTAKOUZENOS (died 1329)

A nephew (ἀνεψιός) of the Grand Domestic John Kantakouzenos. He served as an officer of Andronikos III in his campaign

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ment as Kantak's. περιπόθητος αὐτάδελφος (Kantak. iii, 53: II, p. 318, 7, p. 320, 1) may be taken as purely rhetorical. Other references to John Angelos as the *pinkernes* or without other title or qualification are: Kantak. i, 54: I, p. 277, 11; ii, 34: I, p. 511, 2; iii, 28: II, p. 175, 13; iii, 29: II, p. 181, 7; iii, 41: II, p. 254, 18. Greg. xii, 14: II, p. 621, 3; xiii, 2: II, p. 636, 1. He was also related to Anna, *basilissa* of Epiros, widow of the Despot John II Doukas Orsini, and spared her life on this account when he conquered Akarnania from her in 1343. Cf. Greg. xiii, 6: II, p. 658, 5–6: συγγενείας προτιμήσας ἀνομοθέτητον δίκαιον. Anna was a daughter of Andronikos Palaiologos the *protobestiarios* and so a sister of the wife of John Angelos. Kantak. ii, 32: I, p. 499, 13.

[33] (John) Angelos the *pinkernes* is cited as γαμβρός ofAndronikos III in a document in Chilandari monastery. Petit, *Chilandari*, p. 273: περιποθήτου γαμβροῦ τοῦ . . . βασιλέως πιγκέρνη τοῦ Ἀγγέλου . . . . John Kantakouzenos is called γαμβρός of Andronikos III in the latter's chrysobull for Vatopedi of 1329 (Regel, *Chrysob.*, no. 4, p. 16); in the Typikon of the monastery of the Prodromos on Mt. Menoikeion in 1332, and again in a chrysobull of Andronikos III for the same monastery (Guillou, *Prodrome*, no. 26, p. 93, 28; App. I, p. 173, 54; cf. *MM*, V, p. 105); and in the document in Chilandari cited above, which bears the date 1338. Cf. Binon, *Prostagma*, p. 392. John Angelos remained as governor of Thessaly from 1342–1348, when he died a victim of the Black Death. Cf. Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 55–56, 58, 66 note 38, where he is designated (wrongly, I now believe) as a nephew of Kantakouzenos. It must be assumed that Kantak. employs the term ἀνεψιός in this connection to mean cousin. The fullest exploration of the relationship of John Angelos to John Kantakouzenos is that of Binon, *Prostagma*, pp. 149–150.

against Orchan of Bithynia and was killed at the battle of Pelekanon on 10 June 1329, together with Manuel Tarchaneiotes, also described as a nephew of Kantakouzenos.[34]

No. 39

THOMAIS KOMNENE DOUKAINA LASKARINE KANTAKOUZENE PALAIOLOGINA (floruit *ca.* 1300)

The first wife of John Palaiologos Komnenos Doukas Synadenos, Grand Constable, eldest son of the *megas stratopedarches* John Synadenos and Theodora, and a grandson of Eirene Kantakouzene the *sebastokratorissa* (*No. 11*). Thomais became a nun with the name of Xene, presumably on her deathbed since her husband outlived her and remarried. Her anniversary was commemorated in the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople, which her mother-in-law Theodora, the nun Theodoule, had founded, on 11 February.[35]

She was probably the mother of Anna Kantakouzene (*No. 40*) and Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 41*). Of the five granddaughters of Theodora-Theodoule two, namely Theodora Palaiologina and Anna Palaiologina Asenina, are known to have been the children of Theodore Synadenos the *protostrator*, brother of John Synadenos.[36] It may seem a reasonable assumption that, of the other three granddaughters, the only two who bear the name Kantakouzene, namely Anna and Eirene, should be daughters of Thomais Kantakouzene and John Synadenos.[37]

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[34] Kantak. ii, 8: I, pp. 361, 25–362, 3: ἔξω δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων δύο μὲν ἀπέθανον καὶ τριάκοντα· ἐξ ὧν ἦσαν δύο τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, Μανουὴλ ὁ Ταρχανειώτης καὶ ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς Νικηφόρος, τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου καὶ ἀμφότεροι τυγχάνοντες ἀνεψιοί. Cf. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, p. 156. Binon, *Prostagma*, p. 148 note 2, wrongly identified this Nikephoros with Nikephoros Kantakouzenos the *sebastokrator* (*No. 34*), cousin of John Kantakouzenos, having apparently overlooked that this Nikephoros was killed in 1329.

[35] Omont, *Portraits*, p. 369; Delehaye, *Typica*, pp. 84, 18; 91, 15; 149. Papadopulos, no. 12. She might be identified with the "niece of the Emperor (Andronikos II)" called simply Kantakouzene by Manuel Philes. Philes, ed. Miller, I, p. 121.

[36] For Theodora Palaiologina, cf. Papadopulos, no. 14. She is described in the Typikon of the convent of Good Hope as: τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ περιποθήτου μου υἱοῦ Θεοδώρου Δούκα τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος, κυρᾶς Θεοδώρας Κομνηνῆς Δουκαίνης Ῥαουλαίνης τῆς Παλαιολογίνης (Delehaye, *Typica*, p. 91, 22–27). For Anna Palaiologina Asenina, cf. Kantak. i, 24: I, p. 125, 9–12: . . . ὁ μὲν πρωτοστράτωρ [Θεόδωρος] πρὸς τὴν Ἀδριανοῦ πόλιν ἐχώρει, Ἄνναν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα τῷ Ἀσάνῃ Μανουὴλ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου γαμετῆς ἀδελφῷ πρὸς γάμον συνάψων. Cf. Kantak. iii, 79: II, p. 491, 19 f. The Typikon of the convent of Good Hope describes her simply as a granddaughter of the foundress (Theodora-Theodoule). Papadopulos, no. 18, erroneously makes her a daughter of John Synadenos, Theodore's brother.

Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarine Kantakouzene Palaiologina (nun Xene) m. John Palaiologos Komnenos Doukas Synadenos Grand Constable

Anna Kantakouzene Komnene Palaiologina Bryennissa Philanthropene (*No. 40*)

Eirene Komnene Kantakouzene Palaiologina Asenina (*No. 41*)

No. 40

ANNA KANTAKOUZENE KOMNENE PALAIOLOGINA BRYENNISSA PHILANTHROPENE (floruit *ca.* 1330)

A granddaughter of Theodora-Theodoule, foundress of the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople, and of the *megas stratopedarches* John Synadenos. She married Michael Laskaris Bryennios Philanthropenos, from whom she acquired the names of Bryennissa and Philanthropene. He died in 1332. The name of Kantakouzene she may have inherited from her mother, on the credible supposition that she was a daughter of Thomais Kantakouzene (*No. 39*). Anna's portrait with that of her husband is among those of the founding family of the convent of Good Hope (fig. 3).[38]

She appears to have been the donor of an icon of the Virgin of Good Hope in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos. The inscription on the silver frame of this icon, now in fragmentary condition, once read:

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[37] The fifth granddaughter, Euphrosyne Doukaina Palaiologina, married Constantine Komnenos Raoul Palaiologos the *protosebastos*. Papadopulos, no. 20.

[38] Omont, *Portraits*, p. 365; Delehaye, *Typica*, p. 13, fol. 4; p. 150. V. Laurent (review of Athenagoras, *Philanthropenoi*), *EO*, XXVIII (1930), p. 496. Papadopulos, no. 17.

Βεβαία ἐλπὶς ἠπορημένων κόρη
σκέπη γενοῦ μοι καὶ ψυχῆς σωτηρία: ~
οἶδά σε καὶ γὰρ ὀρφανῶν τε καὶ ξένων: ~
τὸν βόρβορον πλυνοῦσα τῶν ἁμαρτάδων: ~
[ἡ Κατακουζηνὴ Παλαιολογίνα]
Φιλανθρωπηνὴ Ἄννα ταῦτά σοι κράζει: ~
δέησις τῆς δούλης τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἄννης Παλαιολογίνας
Κατακουζηνῆς τῆς Φιλανθρωπινῆς.[39]

Anna Kantakouzene Komnene Palaiologina Bryennissa Philanthropene	m.	Michael Laskaris Bryennios Philanthropenos

No. 41

EIRENE KOMNENE KANTAKOUZENE PALAIOLOGINA ASENINA (floruit *ca.* 1330)

A granddaughter of Theodora-Theodoule, foundress of the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople, and of the *megas stratopedarches* John Synadenos. She married Michael Komnenos Tornikes and is known only from the Typikon of the convent of Good Hope which contains her portrait among the family and descendants of the foundress (fig. 4). She may have acquired the name of Kantakouzene by being a daughter of Thomais Kantakouzene (*No. 39*).[40]

Papadopulos confuses her husband with Michael Asen, eldest son of John III Asen of Bulgaria and nephew of Andronikos II, who did not bear the name Tornikes and whose wife is referred to simply as Asenina by John Kantakouzenos.[41] The portraits of Eirene and her husband are not much help toward his identification. He is shown as a beardless young man, but the legend accompanying his picture is far from clear. The names Μιχαὴλ Κομνηνὸς Τορνή[κης] are at least legible. Delehaye read the rest as: ... Τορνήκης Ἀσάνης Παλαιολόγος καὶ γαμπρὸς τῆς κτητορίσης, but admitted that the reading is not certain. Omont read only: Μιχαὴλ

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[39] Millet, *Recueil des inscriptions*, no. 76, p. 26 and pl. IV. 3.

[40] Omont, *Portraits*, p. 366; Delehaye, *Typica*, p. 13, fol. 9; p. 151.

[41] Papadopulos, no. 21. Kantak. iii, 50: II, p. 299, 3 f., who would surely have noted her connection with his own family had it existed.

Κομνηνὸς Τορνυ... γαμπρὸς τῆς κτητορίσης. At all events he is probably not to be identified with the (? Michael) Tornikes, Grand Constable, whose empty tomb with its laudatory inscription exists in the monastery church of the Kariye Djami in Istanbul.[42]

Eirene Komnene Kantakouzene m. Michael Komnenos Tornikes
Palaiologina Asenina

No. 42

ANDRONIKOS KANTAKOUZENOS, *parakoimomenos* and *protobestiarites* (floruit 1320–1329)

As the *parakoimomenos* of Andronikos II Palaiologos, Andronikos Kantakouzenos distinguished himself by being the only man who refused to forswear the name of Andronikos III in the oath of loyalty which the senior Emperor required his officials to take following the death of his son Michael IX in October 1320.[43] It may be assumed that he was relieved of his office, for five years later the rank of *parakoimomenos* was held by one Andronikos Palaiologos Tornikes.[44]

He seems, however, to have served the Empire in other capacities, for he is probably to be identified with the Andronikos Kantakouzenos mentioned as *megas chartoularios* and *kephale* or governor of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres, Strymon, and Krasoba in a *prostagma* of Andronikos II of September 1322.[45] Two years later, with the rank of *protobestiarites* and described as a *sympentheros* of the Emperor, he went to Venice as one of the ambassadors of Andronikos II.[46] In 1325 and again in 1328–1329 he is mentioned in documents of Andronikos III with the same title of *protobestiarites* and as the Emperor's *sympentheros*, having formerly been *kephale* of Serres.[47] It is possible that he died as a monk.[48]

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[42] Omont, *Portraits*, p. 366; Delehaye, *Typica*, p. 13. Cf. P. A. Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1955–1956," *DOP*, 12 (1958), p. 272 and references; *idem*, *The Kariye Djami*, I (London, 1967), pp. 276–280.

[43] Kantak. i, 2: I, p. 17, 16–19: τῷ δέει μέντοι τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἄκοντες πάντες ὤμνυον ὡς ἐκελεύοντο, πλὴν ἑνὸς μόνου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου, τῇ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου τετιμημένου ἀξίᾳ. Cf. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, p. 14, who describes Andronikos as a cousin of John Kantakouzenos.

[44] Andronikos Tornikes was one of the ambassadors sent to Italy in 1325 to seek the hand of Anne of Savoy for Andronikos III; and in 1327 he was ordered by Andronikos II to see to the settlement of some 2000 Cumans from Thrace in the islands of Lemnos, Thasos, and Imbros. Kantak. i, 40: I, p. 195, 3–4; i, 51: I, p. 259, 8. Cf. *DR*, IV, nos. 2533, 2586. He may be identified with the Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Tornikes the *parakoimomenos*, son of Isaac Tornikes, known from the Typikon of the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople. Delehaye, *Typica*, p. 93. His wife seems to have been of the family of Tzamplakon. Theocharides, *Tzamplakones*, pp. 135, 173–174.

[45] Guillou, *Prodrome*, no. 11, pp. 59–61; *MM*, V, no. XXXV, pp. 133–134; *DR*, IV, no. 2484. Cf. Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., pp. 341, 494. For a résumé of Andronikos' functions in Macedonia, see Lemerle, *Philippes*, pp. 225–226 and 226 note 17.

No. 43

CONSTANTINE KANTAKOUZENOS (Thirteenth to Fourteenth Century)

This member of the family is known only from two seals, each bearing the following metrical inscription:

Καντακουζηνοῦ σφράγισμα Κωνσταντίνου.

The seals cannot be dated more nearly than the thirteenth or fourteenth century; but this rules out the possibility of their being assigned to the only other known Constantine Kantakouzenos (*No. 81*), who lived in the fifteenth century.[49]

No. 44

JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS (TORNIKIOS) (floruit 1358)

One of the four children of Demetrios Tornikios the *pinkernes* and Anna Tornikina the *pinkernissa*. His brother Andronikos and his sisters Maria and Eirene seem not to have been given the name of

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[46] *MM*, III, p. 104; *DR*, IV, no. 2515.

[47] Guillou, *Prodrome*, nos. 22, 23, pp. 81–86; *MM*, V, nos. XXII, XXX, pp. 120–121, 128–129; *DR*, IV, nos. 2588, 2678, 2726. His qualification as *sympentheros* of Andronikos II and Andronikos III, a degree of kinship which seems, like that of *theios*, to have been capable of wide interpretation and lasting significance, indicates that Andronikos had a daughter who must have married a nephew (clearly not in this case a son or a brother) of the Emperor Andronikos II. See J. Verpeaux, "Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues," *Travaux et mémoires*, I (Paris, 1965), p. 432 and note 69, p. 434.

[48] A note on the penultimate leaf of a manuscript in Skoplje records that "this book was the property of Andronikos Kantakuzin and Moises and (that) they presented it to their monastery, to the church of St. Nicholas." *Bulgarski Starini*, pp. 112–113.

[49] Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 630; V. Laurent, "Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine," Ἑλληνικά, IV (1931), nos. 197, 219, pp. 351, 359.

Kantakouzenos. All four gave their consent to their mother's donation of half of her property to the founders of the monastery of the Pantokrator on Mount Athos in a document signed by herself and her husband on August 1358.[50]

Since his mother Anna is described as being a "daughter of the late *parakoimomenos*," John may have been a grandson of the *parakoimomenos* Andronikos Palaiologos Tornikes.[51]

No. 45

ANNA KANTAKOUZENE PALAIOLOGINA, *megale domestikissa* (floruit 1373)

The wife of the Grand Domestic Demetrios Palaiologos, a close relation of the Emperor John V Palaiologos. In August 1373 she made over to the Monastery of Docheiariou on Mount Athos the estate called Amariana at Kalamaria which she and her brothers inherited from their ancestors, but which had fallen into ruin during the recently ended period of Serbian occupation. The gift, for which she and her husband agreed to accept only 600 hyperpyra (payable in Venetian ducats) instead of the 2000 which was the true value of the land, was made for the salvation of the souls of her parents and ancestors and as a memorial to them. The deed was confirmed by Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Thessalonike, in August 1373.[52]

Nothing further is known about this Anna Kantakouzene, though her donation was confirmed by *prostagma* of John V in February 1375 and again by *prostagma* of Manuel II Palaiologos in November 1414, by which time the *megale domestikissa* (Anna) is referred to as deceased.[53]

The names of her children, mentioned in the original document of 1373, were John Palaiologos, *megas primmikerios*, and Eudokia Kantakouzene (*No. 46*).

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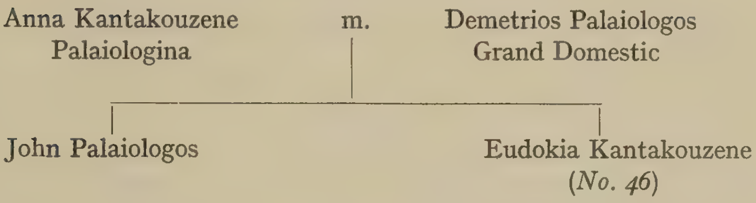
[50] Petit, *Pantokrator*, no. 3, pp. 4–7.

[51] See *supra*, *No. 42*, p. 152, note 44.

[52] Ktenas, *Docheiariou*, no. 8, pp. 300–305. For Demetrios Palaiologos, see Papadopulos, no. 135.

[53] Ktenas, *Docheiariou*, no. 9, pp. 305–307; Dölger, *Schatzk.*, no. 20. Ktenas, *Docheiariou*, no. 10, pp. 307–308. Cf. *DR*, V, nos. 3145, 3322, 3342.



Anna Kantakouzene Palaiologina m. Demetrios Palaiologos Grand Domestic

John Palaiologos

Eudokia Kantakouzene (*No. 46*)

No. 46

EUDOKIA KANTAKOUZENE (floruit 1373)

Known only as the daughter of Anna Kantakouzene (*No. 45*) and Demetrios Palaiologos, Grand Domestic of John V. Her brother John Palaiologos, the *megas primmikerios*, is not known to have adopted the name of Kantakouzenos.[54]

No. 47

MANUEL PHAKRASES KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1370, 1409)

Manuel is known as the signatory of a document of August 1370 in the monastery of Vatopedi. He describes himself as an οἰκεῖος of the Emperor (John V Palaiologos).[55] He was later among the members of the senate present at the synod in Constantinople which excommunicated Makarios of Ankyra and Matthew of Medeia in August 1409. He is described in the Tomos of that synod as Manuel Kantakouzenos Phakrases, ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων of the Emperor (Manuel II Palaiologos).[56]

A plaque on the face of a tower in the sea walls of Constantinople bore the figure of a lion rampant and the name Μανουὴλ Φακρασῆς Κατακουζηνός. It seems now to be lost. A. Van Millingen and R. Janin connected this inscription with the repairs carried out on the city walls after the Genoese attack of 1351 and identified the Manuel Phakrases Katakouzenos with the *protostrator* Phakrases of John VI. But the first name of the *protostrator* appears to have been

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[54] Ktenas, *Docheiariou*, no. 8, p. 303, who remarks that the surname of Palaiologina is missing after her name of Kantakouzene.

[55] The document concerns a dedication to the monastery made by Michael Kaballarios Tzamplakon. Theocharides, *Tzamplakones*, no. 4a, pp. 141–145. On the term *oikeios*, see Verpeaux, *op. cit.*, *REB*, XXIII (1965), pp. 89–99.

[56] Cod. Vat. gr. 1858, fol. 33^{v}. This reference was kindly supplied by the Rev. G. T. Dennis.

George and not Manuel. The inscription may, however, refer to this Manuel.[57]

No. 48

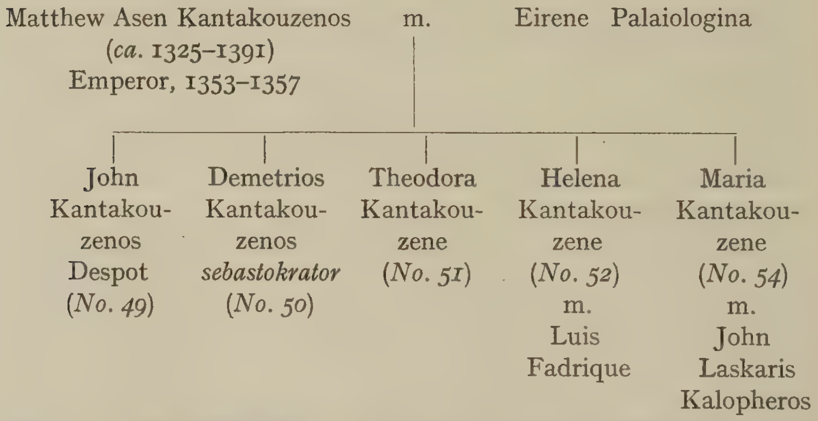
N. KANTAKOUZENOS (PHAKRASES), *megas primmikerios* (floruit 1370, 1409)

Among the members of the senate and οἰκεῖοι of the Emperor Manuel II who attended the synod of August 1409 in Constantinople was: κῦρ ⟨. . .⟩ ὁ μέγας πριμμικήριος ὁ Καντακουζηνός.[58]

He may well be the same as the *megas primmikerios* Phakrases to whom Demetrios Kydones addressed at least two letters in 1371 and 1372. This Phakrases was appointed acting governor of Thessalonike during the absence from the city of Manuel Palaiologos in 1372.[59]

Nos. 49–54

THE OFFSPRING OF MATTHEW KANTAKOUZENOS (*No. 24*) AND EIRENE PALAIOLOGINA


Matthew Asen Kantakouzenos
(*ca.* 1325–1391)
Emperor, 1353–1357
m.
Eirene Palaiologina
John Kantakouzenos Despot (*No. 49*)
Demetrios Kantakouzenos *sebastokrator* (*No. 50*)
Theodora Kantakouzene (*No. 51*)
Helena Kantakouzene (*No. 52*) m. Luis Fadrique
Maria Kantakouzene (*No. 54*) m. John Laskaris Kalopheros

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[57] C. G. Curtis, *Broken Bits of Byzantium*, I (London, 1887), no. 33; Van Millingen, *Byz. Constantinople*, pp. 191–192; Janin, *Constantinople byz.*, p. 272. Cf. C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, LXXX (1965), p. 334 note 91. It is not known when the families of Kantakouzenos and Phakrases became related. But for other members of the Phakrases family, see *infra*, *Appendix*, pp. 234—237.

[58] Cod. Vat. gr. 1858, fol. 33^{v}.

[59] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, nos. 29 and 77, pp. 58–59, 109–110; cf. I, no. 48, pp. 82–83 (addressed simply to Phakrases); I, no. 112, p. 150; II, no. 217, p. 95, 1. Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 33, 55.

No. 49

JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS, Despot (born *ca.* 1342)

John was the elder of the two sons of Matthew Kantakouzenos (*No. 24*) and Eirene Palaiologina. His parents were married in Thessalonike early in 1341; so John can hardly have been born before 1342.[1] He was granted the rank and title of Despot by John V Palaiologos in December 1357 after the formal abdication of his father Matthew, and in 1361, when he was about nineteen years of age, he was taken to the Peloponnese by his father and grandfather. He seems to have remained in Greece for the rest of his life.[2]

An icon of the Virgin and Child, originally in Mistra and now in Venice, has a gilded silver frame with a portrait of "John Kantakouzenos the Despot." He is depicted as a bearded man wearing a long robe with double-headed eagles on the shoulders. An inscription on the frame refers to the Palaiologoi who donated it. G. Gerola has convincingly identified this portrait with John Kantakouzenos, the elder son of Matthew.[3] It must have been produced when John was about forty years old, in 1380 or later. On the strength of this identification it has been suggested that John rather than his brother Demetrios (*No. 50*) was the last Kantakouzenos ruler of the Peloponnese who opposed the cession of the Despotate to the house of Palaiologos after his uncle's death in 1380. There seems insufficient evidence for certainty on this point. But it may be remarked that if John were the son of Matthew who fought so bitterly against the new Despot of the Peloponnese,

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[1] Kantak. ii, 38: I, p. 534, 19–24.

[2] Kantak. iv, 49: III, p. 358, 2–6: καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Δημήτριον τοὺς υἱοὺς Ματθαίου τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφοῦ τιμῶν ἠξίωκε τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, δεσπότην μὲν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀποδείξας, τὸν δὲ Δημήτριον σεβαστοκράτορα, καὶ κοινωνήσας αὐτοῖς τραπέζης. Kantak. iv, 49: III, p. 358, 10: Καντακουζηνὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς πανοικεσίᾳ τὸν υἱὸν [Ματθαῖον] παραλαβὼν, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον .... That Matthew Kantakouzenos had only two sons, not three, as postulated by Papadopulos, no. 64, is shown by Kantak. iv, 45: III, p. 331, 15. See *supra*, *No. 24*, p. 121 note 36.

[3] Gerola, *Giovanni Cantac.*, pp. 379–387. The inscription on the silver frame reads: Ἰω[άννου] Κατακουζηνοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου. The icon and its portrait are also described and illustrated by Maria S. Theocharis, "Παναγία ἡ Ἀρτωκοστᾶ, La Beata Vergine delle Grazie," Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1953–54 (Athens, 1961), pp. 232–252.

Theodore Palaiologos, it is hard to see why the "lords and Despots" of the family of Palaiologos should have taken such care to associate themselves with his icon.[4]

The date of John's death and his part in the affairs of the Peloponnese remain totally obscure.

No. 50

DEMETRIOS KANTAKOUZENOS, *sebastokrator* (*ca.* 1343–1384)

The younger of the two sons of Matthew Kantakouzenos (*No. 24*) and Eirene Palaiologina. His elder brother John was born about 1342. The date of Demetrios' birth cannot have been before 1343. He was given the title of *sebastokrator* by John V Palaiologos in December 1357 and went to the Peloponnese with his father and grandfather in 1361.[5]

Karl Hopf assumed that it was Demetrios rather than his elder brother John who defied his father Matthew and disputed the succession to the Despotate of the Peloponnese with Theodore Palaiologos, son of John V, in the years between 1380 and 1384.[6] The only evidence for this event is the cryptic account of Manuel Palaiologos in his Funeral Oration for his brother Theodore. Manuel gives no names but remarks only on the insubordinate activities of the "son" of Matthew Kantakouzenos, who had usurped the government of the Peloponnese following the death of Matthew's brother Manuel Kantakouzenos in 1380.[7] It has been argued that this rebellious son of Matthew, the last member of the Kantakouzenos family to govern the Peloponnese, was in fact John, not Demetrios. But D. A. Zakythenos, the historian of the Despotate of the Peloponnese, having considered the argument, is inclined to hold to his original view that Demetrios, not John, was the last

[4] Gerola's suggestion has been adopted by, e.g., Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 116 and note 40, 117. But cf. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 117–118; II, p. 118 and note 2. On the other hand Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, p. 418, considers that it was "presque sûrement le despote Jean" and not Demetrios who took up arms against Theodore Palaiologos. See *infra*, *No. 50*.

[5] Kantak. iv, 45: III, p. 331, 15; iv, 49: III, p. 358, 2 and 10.

[6] Hopf, *Geschichte*, II, p. 13. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 117–118.

[7] Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, ed. Lambros, p. 37, 8–12 (*MPG*, CLVI, 209A).

Kantakouzenos ruler.[8] In this event the date of his death, which from the point of view of his rival and "cousin" Theodore Palaiologos was providential, may be taken as 1383–1384. For we are told that this son of Matthew engaged the support of the Latins and the Turks, disgracing his parents and his whole family, and employed every device to wage war on Theodore for more than a year, until death carried him off.[9]

This problem can hardly be satisfactorily resolved on the basis of the documentary evidence available. Almost equally debatable is the parentage of the large family of Kantakouzenoi who were the brothers and sisters of that George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*) from whom the wife of Hugues Busac and also the historian Theodore Spandounes claimed descent. That George and his two brothers and three sisters were directly descended from John VI Kantakouzenos and Matthew is indisputable. But the name of their father is nowhere stated. Demetrios Kantakouzenos seems the most likely candidate. For in default of factual evidence the balance of probability indicates that Matthew Kantakouzenos, the only son of the Emperor John VI to produce any issue and therefore the only possible progenitor of the blood imperial, was their grandfather, and that Demetrios rather than his elder brother John Kantakouzenos was their father.[10]

[8] Gerola, *Giovanni Cantac.*, pp. 384–387. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, II, p. 118 note 2. Cf. Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 58–59, 116 and note 40, 117. There seems no warrant, however, for including Demetrios among the "Despots" of the Peloponnese, since he is not known to have held any higher rank than that of *sebastokrator*. Cf. R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: le Despote," *REB*, XVII (1959), p. 72.

[9] Manuel Pal. *Epitaph*, ed. Lambros, pp. 39–40 (*MPG*, CLVI, 209C–212B): ...ἀνεψιὸς αὐτῷ...πολλοῖς ἐπέθετο τρόποις, Τούρκοις καὶ Λατίνοις ἑαυτὸν μίξας... Ἦν δὲ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς φοβερὸς, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἅτε ξένην ἔχων στρατιὰν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὺς, καὶ κατέχων φρούρια ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ δεδόμενα ... ὁ δὲ τεθνάναι πρόθυμος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὃ μὴ προσῆκε τῷ τε ἑαυτοῦ σχήματι καὶ τῷ βίῳ, καὶ ταύτῃ γε περιφανῶς καταισχῦναι τούς τε γονέας, καὶ πᾶν τὸ γένος ....'Ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις ἱσταμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ, φασὶν, ἡ καλῶς ἰθύνουσα σοφία τόδε τὸ πᾶν...τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἐκεῖνον, τῶν τῇδε μεταστήσασα, οὐκ εἴασε πράττειν τὰ κατὰ νοῦν .... Cf. Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 293, p. 213, 72. Theodore Palaiologos left Constantinople after 2 November 1382 and arrived in the Peloponnese toward the end of the same year. Loenertz, *Chron. Moréote*, § 13, pp. 405, 417–419.

[10] See the arguments adduced in this respect by Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 80–83, who concludes (p. 83): "En résumé, la lignée de Georges Cantacuzène remonte donc certainement à l'empereur Jean VI par l'empereur Matthieu. Le chaînon intermédiaire doit être de préférence le sébastocrator Démétrius."

(For the probable offspring of Demetrios Kantakouzenos, see *infra, Nos. 67–73.*)

No. 51

THEODORA KANTAKOUZENE (floruit 1356)

Theodora was the eldest of the three daughters of Matthew Kantakouzenos and Eirene Palaiologina. She was brought up by her grandmother the ex-Empress Eirene, who had become the nun Eugenia, in the convent of Kyra Martha in Constantinople, where she was to be found in 1356.[11] Nothing more seems to be known of her, except that her father addressed two of his philosophical treatises to her.[12]

No. 52

HELENA ASENINA KANTAKOUZENE, Countess of Salona (floruit 1360–1394)

Helena was one of the two younger daughters of Matthew Kantakouzenos and Eirene Palaiologina. In 1356 she was living with her mother and sister in Gratianoupolis, whence they were moved to the island of Tenedos by John V Palaiologos.[13]

Helena is described as a first cousin of the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, who reigned as Emperor in Thessalonike from 1382–1387, and of the Despot of the Peloponnese Theodore I Palaiologos. The description accords with the identification of her as one of the three daughters of Matthew Kantakouzenos, brother of the mother of Manuel II and Theodore Palaiologos. In 1361 she went with her father to settle in the Peloponnese and there she subsequently married Don Luis Fadrique of Aragon, the last Catalan Count of Salona and lord of Zetouni and other domains in central Greece. He died in 1382, but Helena continued to reign as Dowager Countess of Salona until 1394. When her cousin Theodore Palaiologos, Despot of the Peloponnese, allied with Nerio Acciajuoli of Athens against her she is said to have sought the help of Stephen of Pharsalos, younger son of the Serbian Emperor of Thessaly, Symeon Uroš, and to have betrothed her daughter to him. In April 1388 John I of Aragon offered her the rights of castellan over Athens and the Akropolis if she would defend them.[14] In the years 1388 to 1391 Helena seems to have been in trouble with Venice over her refusal to indemnify a Venetian citizen of Coron, whose property had been seized aboard a ship from Ancona by her late husband Luis Fadrique in 1380.[15]

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[11] Kantak. iv, 45: III, p. 331, 11–20: ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν Γρατιανοῦ πόλιν εἶλεν ἐλθὼν...ἐν ᾗ καὶ βασιλίδος τῆς Εἰρήνης ἅμα δυσὶν υἱέσι καὶ τοσαύταις θυγατράσι κύριος γενόμενος (Θεοδώρα γὰρ ἡ πρεσβυτέρα τῶν Ματθαίου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρων παρὰ τῇ μάμμῃ Εὐγενίᾳ τῇ βασιλίδι ἐτρέφετο ἐν Βυζαντίῳ) καὶ χρησάμενος φιλανθρώπως...εἰς Τένεδον ἐξέπεμψε τὴν νῆσον.

[12] Matthew's two treatises are edited by J. Sakellion, in *DIEE*, II (1887), pp. 425–439; cf. B. Antoniades, in *DIEE*, IV (1894), pp. 518–532. See *supra, No. 24*, p.120 note 32.

[13] Kantak. iv, 45: III, p. 331, 16. Kantak. does not supply her name.

Laonikos Chalkokondyles records the capture of Salona by Bayezid I and the submission to the Sultan of the widow of Don Luis, namely Helena, and her beautiful daughter, both of whom then entered the harem. This event took place at the end of 1393 or the beginning of 1394, as witnessed by the letter dated 20 February 1394 which Nerio Acciajuoli, Duke of Athens, wrote to his brother Donato from Corinth lamenting the fall of Salona. Chalkokondyles goes on to retail the scandalous story of how the Countess Helena disgraced herself and brought shame upon the people of "Delphi" by committing her authority into the hands of her lover, a priest called Strateus, for which reason the Archbishop (? of

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[14] Geronimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, II (Saragossa, 1668), pp. 386–387. Documents of 1382–1387 in Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, nos. 525, 526, 527, 528, 550, 562, 591, 605, 615; letters of John I of Aragon, *ibid.*, nos. 620, 621 (of 22 April 1388). Zurita calls her "Elena Cantacuzin"; the Catalan documents call her either Helena "Frederich" by her husband's name, or the "despina Helena Asenina" (cf. no. 562 [of 1384]: "Eleni Assanina despina comitisse dela Sola e del Cito"). The name of her daughter, Maria Fadrique Kantakouzene, is supplied by the same sources. See R.-J.Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras. Régestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans (1311–1394)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV (1955), p. 177; *idem*, "Une page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce (1386)," *REB*, XIV (1956), pp. 158–168. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 104–105, 182, who describes Helena as a niece of John VI Kantakouzenos. Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, p. 120. Hopf, *Geschichte*, II, p. 25, and *Chroniques*, p. 536, makes her a great-granddaughter of John VI. Filitti, p. 7, makes her a daughter of John Kantakouzenos the Despot. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 262, seems to have misread her name as Eirene in his text of Chalkokondyles.

[15] Documents in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, nos. 743, 758, 788; pp. 179, 182, 189.

Larissa) denounced her to the Basileus (Sultan) and gave him the pretext for taking over the County of Salona.[16]

Helena Asenina Kantakouzene (died 1394?) m. Luis Fadrique of Aragon Count of Salona (died 1382)

Maria Fadrique Kantakouzene
(died 1395)
(*No. 53*)

No. 53

MARIA FADRIQUE KANTAKOUZENE (died 1395)

Maria was the daughter of Helena Kantakouzene (*No. 52*) and Don Luis Fadrique of Aragon, Count of Salona. She was born about 1370. Her hand was much sought after in marriage. She was betrothed first, about 1382, to Bernaduc (Bernat Hug), a son of Felip Dalmau, Viscount of Rocaberti, and then, about 1386, to a son of the Serbian Emperor Symeon Uroš, probably Stephen of Pharsalos. King Peter IV of Aragon, writing to her mother and his cousin Helena, Countess of Salona, on 17 August 1386, reproaches her with having given her daughter in marriage to an alien. The marriage seems not to have taken place, however, for in the following year negotiations were again in hand for her marriage to Bernaduc of Rocaberti. Nerio Acciajuoli, who became master of Athens in 1388, is said to have sought her as a bride for his Venetian brother-in-law Pietro Saraceno; but in 1390 arrangements seem to have been instituted for her to marry Matthew of Montcada, son of William Raymond of Montcada, Count of Augusta.[17]

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[16] Chalk. i: pp. 62–63 (Darkò); pp. 67–68 (*CSHB*). The text of Nerio's letter is reproduced by Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, no. 644, pp. 673–674, and by Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse*, pp. 177–178. Cf. *Chronicle of Galaxidi*, ed. K. N. Sathas, Χρονικὸν ἀνέκδοτον Γαλαξειδίου (Athens, 1914), pp. 84–88, 211–212; Miller, *Latins*, pp. 346–347; Nicol, *Meteora*, p. 68.

[17] The correspondence of Peter IV of Aragon about Maria's proposed marriage to Bernaduc is contained in Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, nos. 526, 527, 528 (letters dated 18 and 20 November 1382), 591 (17 August 1386), 605

According to Chalkokondyles, Maria, who was very beautiful and at the time affianced, ultimately became one of the wives of the Sultan Bayezid I who conquered Salona about 1394.[18] She seems to have died a year later. The Italian pilgrim Nicholas of Martoni, returning from Jerusalem by way of Greece in 1395, crossed the Gulf of Corinth from Vostitza (Aigion) to Vitrinitza in April. He was told that the district of Vitrinitza was then held by "the Grand Turk" who had acquired it from the lord of Salona ("Dominici de Sola") whose only daughter he had married. The Turk had subsequently caused his wife to be put to death as an unworthy partner.[19]

No. 54

MARIA KANTAKOUZENE (died before 1373)

Maria was probably the third daughter of Matthew Kantakouzenos and Eirene, and one of the two who were moved from Gratianoupolis to Tenedos by John V Palaiologos in 1356.[20]

She is described in papal letters of 1365 as *Mariam Cantacusini*, the niece (*nepotem*) of the Emperor John V. She became the wife of John Laskaris Kalopheros, brother of the monk Maximos Kalopheros, a convert to Roman Catholicism and a strenuous partisan

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(17 April 1387), 615 (7 November 1387). Peter was earlier in correspondence with Maria's grandfather Matthew Kantakouzenos (*No. 24*). Her marriage to Matthew of Montcada is referred to in the letters of John I of Aragon to (Helena) Countess of Salona dated 7 November 1387 and 7 January 1390 (*ibid.*, nos. 615, 628). See especially R.-J. Loenertz, "Une page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce," *REB*, XIV (1956), pp. 162–164. Cf. T. D. Neroutsos, Χριστιανικαὶ Ἀθῆναι, *DIEE*, IV (1892), pp. 173–174, 177; Buonocore, *Nemagni*, pp. 262–263; Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 186.

[18] Chalk. i: p. 62 (Darkò); pp. 67–68 (*CSHB*). Nerio Acciajuoli, writing in February 1394 to his brother Donato, tells the same tale: "...inpero che lo gran Turcho e venuto a Salonicchi, e a preso per moglie la figlia della donna della Sola...." Rubió y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, no. 644, p. 673. Cf. Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, Tables XXIV, LXI.

[19] L. Legrand, "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni notaire italien (1394–1395)," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, III (1895), pp. 660–661: *Deinde dictum fuit nobis quod Turchus mori fecit dictam uxorem suam, quia sibi videbatur non esse dignam suo sociari conjugio, et sic dictus Turchus est in dominio dictarum terrarum et propter hoc Turchii semper transeunt ad discurrendum terras convicinas.*

[20] Kantak. iv, 45: III, p. 331, 16.

of the submission of the Orthodox Church to the Papacy. In 1365, when at the papal court at Avignon, Kalopheros prevailed upon Pope Urban V to intercede on his behalf with the Emperor John V who, for reasons unknown, was at that time disposed to prevent the marriage of Kalopheros to Maria, even though the vows had been taken. The outcome of the Pope's intervention is not known, but the marriage seems to have taken place. Maria died before 9 June 1373, apparently leaving her husband some property in Cyprus; for on that date he appealed to Pope Gregory XI to intercede with the King of Cyprus to make him hand over the property of his deceased wife. Kalopheros took as his second wife Lucia, daughter of Erard III Mavros, Baron of Arcadia, before 24 November 1374. He seems to have died in Cyprus.[21]

Maria Kantakouzene (died before 1373)	m.	John Laskaris Kalopheros

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No. 55

EUGENIA KANTAKOUZENE PHILANTHROPENE (died 1402)

One of the two daughters of Xene Philanthropene. Xene belonged to the founding family of the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople, whose buildings she restored in 1392. She died on 13 February indiction 2 (?1394).

Eugenia, a nun from her childhood, continued her family's benefactions to the convent and defrayed the cost of important repairs to the church and campanile in 1398 and 1401. She donated the sum of 100 hyperpyra to the community shortly before her death, which occurred on 11 February 1402. She was commemorated as an honorary "foundress" (κτητόρισσα) of the convent.[1]

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[21] Letters of Urban V to John V Palaiologos of 18 April 1365, in Halecki, *Un empereur*, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 360–361, 361–363; cf. pp. 91–94, 98, 272–273. Cf. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 280; J. Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières* (Rome 1954), p. 205, who makes Maria a "niece of Cantacuzenus." Halecki, *Un empereur*, p. 93, suggests that John V objected to the marriage "soit qu'il ne le trouvât pas digne de sa parente, soit qu'il craignît des liens si étroits entre les Cantacuzènes, ses anciens rivaux, et les Lascaris." Cf. R.-J. Loenertz, "Une page de Jérôme Zurita," *REB*, XIV (1956), p. 161 note 4. The Testament of John Kalopheros, written in 1388, is edited by Loenertz, in Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, App. V, no. 10, pp. 187–194.

[1] Delehaye, *Typica*, pp. 104, 105, 151; Janin, *Les églises*, p. 166.

No. 56

ANNA KANTAKOUZENE (floruit *ca.* 1400)

A daughter of Xene Philanthropene and sister of Eugenia Kantakouzene (*No. 55*). Anna became a nun and was remembered as a benefactress of the convent of Good Hope in Constantinople.[2]

It seems possible, though it is not stated in the Typikon of the convent, that Eugenia and Anna were the daughters of Anna Kantakouzene Komnene Palaiologina Bryennissa Philanthropene (*No. 40*), who may have taken the monastic name of Xene.

No. 57

THEODORE KANTAKOUZENOS (died 1410)

One Theodore Kantakouzenos signed a document of Andronikos III's daughter Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene in favor of the monastery of Philotheou on Mount Athos in December 1376.[3] It is probably the same Theodore Kantakouzenos who was among the volunteers who left Constantinople in 1383 to help Manuel Palaiologos in his attempt to defend Thessalonike against the Turks.[4]

Theodore was among the correspondents of Demetrios Kydones and of John Chortasmenos, who also composed verses in honor of his house and of that of "the Emperor's uncle Kantakouzenos."[5]

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[2] Delehaye, *Typica*, pp. 104, 151.

[3] Theodore signs as a δοῦλος of the Emperor (Andronikos IV). The next signatory is Andronikos Tarchaneiotes. Text in Regel, *Philotheou*, no. 11, p. 33; M. Goudas, Ἀφιερωτήριον γράμμα Θεοδώρας Παλαιολογίνης τῆς Φιλανθρωπηνῆς, Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, II, (1925), pp. 13–17; cf. F. D(ölger), in *BZ*, XXVII (1927), pp. 429–430. A fourteenth-century copy of a chrysobull of Alexios III of Trebizond in the monastery of Dionysiou, dated 1374, is signed by one Theodore(?) Kantakouzenos. P. Nikolopoulos–N. Oikonomides, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Διονυσίου Κατάλογος τοῦ Ἀρχείου, in Σύμμεικτα, I (Athens, 1966), p. 266, no. 13.

[4] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 250, p. 155, 4. Cf. Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 71 and note 52, 72.

[5] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, II, no. 254, p. 159 (of 1383). For Theodore Kantakouzenos in the unpublished writings of John Chortasmenos see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Supplementum Graecum* (Vienna, 1957), no. 75, 8, pp. 51, 52 (fols. 212^{r}, 212^{v}, 214^{v}, 215^{v}, 289^{r}). Cf. H. Hunger, "Johannes Chortasmenos, ein byzantinischen Intellektueller der späten Palaiologenzeit," *Wiener Studien*, LXX (1957), pp. 153–163; *idem*, "Allzumenschliches aus dem Privatleben eines Byzantiners," *Polychronion* (*Festschrift F. Dölger*) (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 244–252.

No doubt he is also to be identified with the Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, "uncle of the Emperor of Constantinople," who was sent with John of Natala to Charles VI of France by Manuel II on 1 July 1397 bearing a letter asking for the king's help to save the Empire.[6] He seems to have been sent as ambassador to Venice in the autumn of 1398, and is probably the "uncle of Manuel II" who was made a citizen of Venice on 27 December of the same year.[7] In August 1409 he was present at the synod in Constantinople which condemned Makarios of Ankyra and Matthew of Medeia; he is described in the Tomos of this synod as a member of the senate and an uncle of Manuel II.[8] He is probably the Theodore Kantakouzenos who is known to have died of the plague in 1410.[9] He had a son called George (*No. 58*).

Theodore Kantakouzenos m. Na
(died 1410)

George Kantakouzenos
(*No. 58*)

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[6] Predelli, *Libri Commemoriali*, III, ix, no. 120, p. 260; cf. no. 126, p. 262. Xivrey, *Mémoire*, p. 85; E. Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France duc d'Orleáns (1372–1407)* (Paris, 1889), pp. 216–217; Jorga, *Philippes de Mézières*, p. 504; Sp. Lambros, Ἰωάννου Ζ' Παλαιολόγου ἐγχώρησις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς βυζαντιακῆς αὐτοκρατορίας δικαιωμάτων εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Γαλλίας Κάρολον ϛ', *NH*, X (1913), pp. 255–256. The second embassy sent to Charles VI is to be dated to the spring of 1398; it was led by Marshal de Boucicault and Nicholas Notaras, father of the later Grand Duke Loukas Notaras. Cf. *DR*, V, nos. 3269, 3271.

[7] Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 951, p. 221 (authorization for the transport of Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos as ambassador to Venice, dated 17 September 1398). Venice, Archivio di Stato: Privileggi, I, fol. 129^{v}, cited by Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 82 note 6.

[8] Cod. Vat. gr. 1858, fol. 33^{v}: . . . ἡ δὲ περιφανὴς σύγκλητος ἦν· οἵ τε περιπόθητοι θεῖοι τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ ἁγίου, κῦρ Θεόδωρος ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς καὶ κῦρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Ἀσάνης. . . . I am indebted for this reference to G. T. Dennis. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 82.

[9] Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 47, p. 82, 71: Τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει [1410] ἔγινεν θανατικὸν μέγα τελευτήσαντες ὅτε πατριάρχης κὺρ Ματθαῖος καὶ κὺρ Θεόδωρος Κατακουζηνὸς καὶ λαὸς χιλιάδες ι'. Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 536, on no stated evidence, lists a Theodore Kantakouzenos between the years 1397 and 1402 as a son of the Despot John Kantakouzenos (*No. 49*) and a brother of Helena Kantakouzene (*No. 52*).

No. 58

GEORGE KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit Early Fifteenth Century)

A son of Theodore Kantakouzenos (*No. 57*). He was a pupil of John Chortasmenos but is otherwise unknown.[10]

No. 59

N. KANTAKOUZENOS STRAVOMETES (floruit 1425)

Known to have been governor of Zetouni (Lamia) in central Greece in 1425. He defended the town and district with no little success against the Turkish conquerors of Thessaly.[11]

He might be identified with the Kantakouzenos mentioned as κεφαλή of Skeinoudi (=Zetouni ?) in the year 1418 in a note on a manuscript in Milan.[12]

He had a daughter who is said to have married the Despot Demetrios Palaiologos, the fifth son of Manuel II.[13]

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[10] H. Hunger, "Johannes Chortasmenos, ein byzantinischen Intellektueller der späten Palaiologenzeit," *Wiener Studien*, LXX (1957), pp. 161 note 19, 162–163.

[11] Doukas xxviii, 11: p. 190, 4–9 (*CSHB*); p. 239, 10–13 (Grecu): ἦν δὲ τότε ἐν Ζητουνίῳ σταλεὶς εἰς ὑπατείαν Καντακουζηνὸς ὁ Στραβομύτης, ἄνδρας γενναῖος, εἰ χρὴ καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα, ποιήσας μεγάλην ζημίαν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσι τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Τούρκους καὶ περιέπων ἀσφαλῶς τὰ πέριξ τοῦ Ζητουνίου καὶ τὸ πολίχνιον. Cf. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 263 ("Cantacuzenus Staurometes"); Iorga, *Grandes familles*, p. 2. Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 536, for reasons unknown, lists one "Démétrius Stavromatas 1423, † 1453" as a son of Theodore Kantakouzenos and brother of Manuel the *protostrator* and John Kantakouzenos, governor of Corinth.

[12] Cod. Ambros. F 130 Sup., fol. 84^r, from Thessaly: Ae. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan, 1906), no. 371, p. 438; Lambros, Ἐνθυμήσεων συλλογή. I, no. 102, p. 153: 1418.–† ἔτους ,ϛϡκϛʹ ἤλθα οἰκονόμο εἰς τῶ Σκεινούδην· οὗτον (sc. ἦτον) δὲ κεφαλῆ ὁ Καντακουζινὸς καὶ ἤλαξεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἐπὶ τραπέζης καὶ τὸν ἐπιτραπέζην ὁ κῦρ Μανουὴλ ὁ Γουδέλης.

[13] Loenertz, *Chron. Vat.*, p. 212, 115–119: Τὸν δὲ Θεόδωρον, Δράγασιν καὶ Θωμᾶν ἔστειλεν εἰς τὸν Μωρέαν κὺρ Ἰωάννης ὁ βασιλεὺς δεσπόζειν αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Θωμᾶς λαμβάνει γυναῖκα τὴν τοῦ πρίγγιπος θυγατέρα καὶ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τοῦ· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος Καντακουζηνοῦ τοῦ Στραβομήτη τὴν κόρην· ὁ δὲ Δράγασις τοῦ αὐθέντου Μιτυλήνης. Loenertz, note 25 *ad loc.*, follows Hopf in identifying Stravometes with Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 75, infra*). The sources that he cites do not seem to warrant this inference. The Despot Demetrios Palaiologos is not otherwise known to have married three times. His two known wives were (i) a daughter of the Grand Duke Paraspondylos and (ii) Theodora, daughter of Paul Asen. Papadopulos, no. 96; Loenertz, *Chron. Vat.*, p. 213, 133–134.

No. 60

JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS and THEODORA KANTAKOUZENE (floruit *ca.* 1420?)

John and Theodora were the donors of an icon in the Cathedral Church of the Dormition of the Virgin at Kalabaka (Stagi) in Thessaly. The icon depicts the Dormition and the Crucifixion and is thought on stylistic grounds to date from the early fifteenth century. The inscription reads:

> δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰω(άννου) Καντακουζηνοῦ
> καὶ Θεοδώρας τῆς Καντακουζήνης καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν.

It has been suggested that they were related to Antonios Kantakouzenos (*No. 28*), founder of the monastery of St. Stephen at the Meteora monasteries. John might even be identical with N. Kantakouzenos Stravometes (*No. 59*) who was governor of Lamia, also in Thessaly.[14]

No. 61

THEODORA KANTAKOUZENE MEGALE KOMNENE, Empress of Trebizond (died 1426)

Theodora was a Kantakouzene by birth. Her parentage is obscure, but the author of the *Ecthesis Chronica* implies that she was the child of a *protostrator*.[15] She married Alexios IV, Emperor of Trebizond (1417–1429), in 1395 and died in 1426.

On Saturday 4 September 1395 Theodora arrived at Hagios Phokas from Constantinople, escorted by the *despoina* Eudokia Megale Komnene who had been to the capital to find brides for her own brother, the reigning Emperor Manuel III of Trebizond (1390–1417), and for her nephew Alexios. She returned bringing Anna, the daughter of Philanthropenos, as a wife for Manuel and Theodora, the daughter of Kantakouzenos, as a wife for Alexios. On Sunday 5 September 1395 the party made its way into Trebizond in the rain, the Grand Duke Amyrialis Scholaris coming out from the city to meet them.[16]

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[14] G. A. Sotiriou, Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλίας ΙΓ′ καὶ ΙΔ′ αἰῶνος. Ἡ βασιλικὴ τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν Καλαμπάκᾳ, *EEBS*, VI (1929), p. 313; Nicol, *Meteora*, p. 127.

[15] Her daughter Maria (*No. 62*) is described as: ἐγγόνην οὖσαν τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος. *Ecthesis Chronica*, p. 7, 7. On chronological grounds it does not seem possible to identify this (Kantakouzenos) *protostrator* with the *protostrator* Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 63*).

Theodora died on Tuesday 12 November 1426 at the third hour of the night. She was buried in the Church of the Theotokos Chrysokephalos in the cemetery of Gidon, the family mausoleum of the Emperors of Trebizond which dated from the time of Andronikos I Gidos, Emperor from 1222–1235.[17]

Bessarion composed three monodies on the death of Theodora and a consolation piece addressed to her husband, who survived her by three years.[18]

Clavijo, the ambassador of Henry III of Castile to Timur the Mongol Khan, met Alexios at Trebizond in 1404. He describes him as "Quelex," son of the reigning Emperor "Germanoli" (Manuel III), and remarks that he is married to the daughter of a knight of Constantinople and has two little daughters.[19] Theodora seems in fact to have had three sons and three daughters. Her eldest son was called John or Kaloioannes and succeeded his father as Emperor of Trebizond (1429–1458). Her other sons were David, who married first Maria, daughter of Alexios prince of Gotthia in the Crimea, and then Helena Kantakouzene (*No. 72*); and Alexander, who married Maria daughter of Dorino I Gattilusio, the Genoese ruler of Lesbos.[20] The only one of her offspring who seems to have inherited the name of Kantakouzene was Maria (*No. 62*), who became the third wife of the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. Of her other two daughters one married the Turkoman chieftain Ali (or Ulu) Bey, Khan of the horde of the White Sheep (Ak-Koyunlu); the other seems to have been the first wife of the Serbian Despot George Branković.[21]

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[16] Panaretos, 55: ed. Lambros, p. 293; ed. Lampsides, p. 81, 9–17.

[17] Panaretos, 56: ed. Lambros, p. 293; ed. Lampsides, p. 81, 18–22.

[18] The first of these has been edited by T. E. Evangelides, Δύο βυζαντιακὰ κείμενα (Hermoupolis, 1910), pp. 25–31.

[19] Clavijo, p. 61.

[20] Panaretos, 57: ed. Lambros, p. 294; ed. Lampsides, p. 81, 23–26. Miller, *Trebizond*, pp. 81, 97; Miller, *Gattilusij*, pp. 421–422, 442.

[21] Ali was the father of the more famous Uzun Hasan. See W. Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan, IV. seri – No. 5 [Ankara, 1948]), p. 125. A fourth daughter of Alexios IV seems to have

It is said that after she had been married for some years Theodora became the mistress of the *protobestiarios* of her husband's court, until her son John, unable to bear his mother's shame, murdered the gentleman. John then staged a coup d'état and imprisoned his parents in a room in the palace in Trebizond; but they were rescued by the archons of the city who sent John into exile in Georgia, where he married the daughter of the reigning king Alexander (presumably Alexander I the Great [1412–1442]). John returned to Trebizond some years later on a Genoese man-of-war, had his father assassinated and ascended the throne as John IV (1429–1458). To expiate his crime he erected a tomb for his father in the church of the Theotokos Chrysokephalos where his mother was buried.[22]

Theodora Kantakouzene Komnene (died 1426) m. Alexios IV Emperor of Trebizond, 1417–1429

John IV Komnenos Emperor of Trebizond, 1429–1458 m. daughter of Alexander I of Georgia	David Komnenos Emperor of Trebizond, 1458–1461 m. (i) Maria of Gotthia (ii) Helena Kantakouzene (*No. 72*)	Alexander m. Maria daughter of Dorino Gattilusio	Maria (*No. 62*) m. John VIII Emperor	daughter m. Ali Bey Khan of Ak-Koyunlu (died 1441)	daughter m. George Branković of Serbia

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married Cihanşah (1435–1467), son of Kara Yusuf, Khan of the horde of the Black Sheep (Kara-Koyunlu). Chalk. ix: pp. 461, 23–462, 3 (*CSHB*); cf. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaisertums von Trapezunt*, p. 247; Hinz, *Uzun Hasan*, p. 126. I am indebted to Dr. A. Bryer for his help in identifying the offspring of Alexios IV of Trebizond. That the first wife of George Branković was a sister of Maria, wife of the Emperor John VIII, has been persuasively argued by I. A. Papadrianos, Τίνες οἱ δεσμοὶ συγγενείας τοῦ Γεωργίου Βράνκοβιτζ πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τῶν Παλαιολόγων, *EEBS*, XXIII (1964), pp. 140–142.

[22] These events are retailed only in a passage inserted by another hand in the text of the Histories of Laonikos Chalkokondyles, ix: II, pp. 219–220 (Darkó); pp. 462–464 (*CSHB*), on which see V. Grecu, "Zu den Interpolationen in Geschichtswerk des Laonikos Chalkokondyles," *Académie Rou-*

No. 62

MARIA KANTAKOUZENE KOMNENE, Empress of Constantinople (died 1439)

Maria is the only one of the daughters of Alexios IV of Trebizond and Theodora Kantakouzene known to have inherited her mother's family name. She became the third wife of the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448). The wedding took place in Constantinople in September 1427, Maria having arrived by ship from Trebizond on 29 August of that year. Sphrantzes describes her as Maria Komnene, daughter of Alexios, Emperor of Trebizond. Doukas calls her simply Maria, daughter of Alexios. The author of the *Ecthesis Chronica* describes her as Maria Katakouzene (*sic*), a grand-daughter of the *protostrator* whose daughter had married the *protobestiarios* of the court of Trebizond (? George Amiroutzes); he also extols her exceptional beauty which caused the Emperor John VIII to love her dearly. Maria died just before her husband got back to Constantinople from the Council of Florence on 17 December 1439. She was buried in the church of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople. John Eugenikos, brother of Mark Eugenikos of Ephesos, composed a lament for her death.[23]

Maria's relative Eugenia, daughter of Francesco II Gattilusio of Lesbos and widow of the Emperor John VII, died in the same year and was buried in the same church. Eugenia's sister Helena, the second daughter of Francesco Gattilusio, is known to have

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maine, Bulletin de la section historique, XXVIII (1946), pp. 92–94. Cf. Miller, *Trebizond*, pp. 81–83; Chrysanthos, *Trebizond*, pp. 386–387.

[23] The marriage was arranged through ambassadors sent from Constantinople in 1426. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 3421. Sphrantzes, xiv, 3: p. 20; xxiv, 3: p. 62 (Grecu); *Majus*, i, pp. 126, 9 f., 190, 17 f. (Papadopoulos); pp. 262, 9–13; 332, 13 f. (Grecu). Doukas xx, 7; xxxi, 7: pp. 102, 11; 215, 13 (*CSHB*); pp. 139, 15 f., 269, 20 f. (Grecu). *Ecthesis Chronica*, p. 6, 16–22; p. 7, 7–8: . . . Μαρίαν τὴν Κατακουζηνὴν, ἐγγόνην οὖσαν τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος· τὴν γὰρ θυγατέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοστράτορος δέδωκαν εἰς γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος. Cf. *Hist. Polit.*, p. 9, 13–16. John Eugenikos, Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἀοιδίμῳ καὶ ἁγίᾳ ἡμῶν κυρίᾳ καὶ δεσποίνῃ Μαρίᾳ, Lambros, Παλ. καὶ Πελ., I (Athens, 1912–1913), pp. λα', 112–114. Cf. S. Petrides, "Les oeuvres de Jean Eugenikos," *EO*, XIII (1910), p. 114. Maria's beauty was also admired in 1432 by the traveller Bertrandon de la Broquière, ed. C. Schefer, *Le Voyage d' Outremer* (Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie, XII [Paris, 1892]), p. 155.

married Stephen Lazarević of Serbia (1389–1427). Constantine the Philosopher, the biographer of Lazarević, has little to say about her; but the Serbian Annals curiously refer to her as Jelača or Elena, daughter of "Kantakouzenos Palaiologos of Galata," and give the date of her marriage in Galata as 1405. Since there seems to be no reasonable doubt as to her parentage, one may conclude that the Serbian chroniclers, unfamiliar with the name Gattilusio, have confused it with that of Kantakouzenos. The Latin forms "Catalusius" and "Catacusinus" might readily inspire such confusion.[24]

Maria Kantakouzene Komnene (died 1439)	m.	John VIII Palaiologos Emperor, 1425–1448
	(no issue)	

No. 63

MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS, *protostrator* (died before 1451)

Manuel was among those sent by the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos to meet and escort the Sultan Muhammad I when he was on his way from Adrianople to Asia Minor by way of Constantinople in the winter of 1420–1421. With him went Demetrios Laskaris Leontares and Isaac Asen with many archons and officers bearing gifts.[25]

At that time he held the rank of *protostrator*. He was married, though the name of his wife is not known, and he had at least two children (*Nos. 65, 66*). He was dead by 1451, for in that year his widow, the *protostratorissa* Kantakouzene (*No. 64*), was influential in trying to promote the marriage of the Emperor Constantine XII to her own relative Maria-Mara, daughter of George Branković of Serbia and lately the widow of the Sultan Murad II.[26]

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[24] Lj. Stojanović, "Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle," *ASP*, XVIII (1896), pp. 278–279, 429–430; Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 542, 594, pp. 200, 218. Cf. Laskaris, *Viz. princeze*, pp. 97–98; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 336–337; Miller, *Gattilusij*, p. 415 (= Miller, *Essays*, p. 322).

[25] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, vii, 2: p. 10 (Grecu); *Majus*, i: pp. 115, 25–116 (Papadopoulos); p. 250, 15–19 (Grecu). Cf. *DR*, V, no. 3384. R. Guilland, "Etudes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Le protostrator," *REB*, VII (1950), pp. 172–173.

No. 64

Na KANTAKOUZENE, *protostratorissa* (floruit 1450–1460)

The wife of Manuel Kantakouzenos the *protostrator* (*No. 63*). Sphrantzes reports that when negotiations were afoot for finding a third wife for the twice widowed Emperor Constantine XII Palaiologos the choice lay at first between a daughter of "George of Iberia" and a daughter of the Emperor John IV of Trebizond. In October 1449 Sphrantzes himself was sent on a diplomatic mission to both kingdoms. He has left a detailed account of his activities.[27]

While he was away, in February 1451, the Sultan Murad II died at Adrianople and it became apparent to Sphrantzes as to several others that the most suitable bride for Constantine would now be Murad's widow, Maria-Mara, the niece of John IV of Trebizond and daughter of George Branković of Serbia.[28] Among those who most strongly supported this proposed marriage was the widow of the *protostrator* (Manuel) Kantakouzenos who, being a relative of Maria-Mara, promised gifts and dowries on her behalf.[29] Against the proposal, however, were the Grand Domestic (Andronikos Kantakouzenos, *No. 68*) and John Kantakouzenos (*No. 80*), who urged Sphrantzes to persuade the Emperor to marry the daughter of John IV of Trebizond.[30] The Emperor, convinced by the report of Sphrantzes, sent as envoy to Maria-Mara who was then living in Serbia the nephew of the *protostratorissa* Kantakouzene, Manuel Palaiologos.[31] The idea was favorably received by George Branković and his wife; but it foundered on the objection of Maria-Mara herself, since she had vowed that if God ever released her from the clutches of the infidel she would never marry again.[32]

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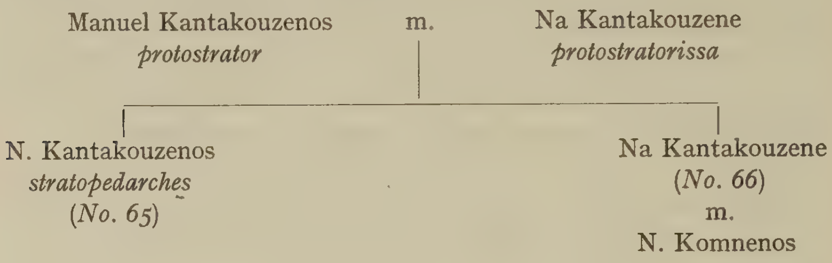
[26] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxi, 10: p. 8 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 221, 10–11 (*CSHB*); p. 364, 30 (Grecu). Manuel can hardly be the *protostrator* whose daughter married the *protobestiarios* of the court of Trebizond and whose granddaughter married the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (see Maria Kantakouzene, *No. 62*). Cf. Papadrianos, *Marriage-arrangement*, p. 136 note 25. DuCange suggested that he might be the same as the Manuel Kantakouzenos called Ghin (*No. 83*), son of George; but he was active long after 1451. Filitti, pp. 7–8, likewise identified the two Manuels, but made him a son of Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 50*).

[27] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxx–xxxii: pp. 74–86 (Grecu); *Majus*, pp. 206–222 (*CSHB*); pp. 350–356 (Grecu). Cf. *DR*, V, nos. 3525, 3538. The king of "Iberia" was George VIII of Georgia (1446–1476). His daughter later married Prince George Shaburidze, son of the Duke of Aragvi. Toumanoff, *Bagratids*, p. 201 and note 192.

[28] For Maria-Mara Branković, see *infra*, *No. 92*.

[29] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, p. 84, 10 (Grecu), desribes her simply as: ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα; *Majus*, p. 221, 2–3 (*CSHB*); p. 364, 30 (Grecu), describes her as: ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα ἡ συγγενὴς αὐτῆς (Μαρίας). The "Kantakouzenos" to whom Sphrantzes refers as having died may be presumed to be her husband. Sphrantzes, *Minus*, p. 84, 16 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 221, 10–11 (*CSHB*); p. 364, 37 (Grecu).



No. 65

N. KANTAKOUZENOS, *stratopedarches* (died 1453?)

Son of Manuel Kantakouzenos the *protostrator* and his wife the *protostratorissa* (*Nos. 63, 64*). The Emperor Constantine XII

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[30] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, p. 84, 21 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 221, 18 (*CSHB*); p. 366, 3–6 (Grecu).

[31] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, p. 80, 32–33 (Grecu): Μανουὴλ τὸν Παλαιολόγον τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Καντακουζηνῆς τῆς πρωτοστρατορίσσας . . . ; p. 84, 28–29: καὶ εὐθὺς τὸν Παλαιολόγον [καὶ τὸν Εὐδαίμονα Ἰωάννην] ἔστειλα, δι' ἄλλα μὲν τὸ φαινόμενον, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας του δὲ τῆς πρωτοστρατορίσσας εἴπῃ τοῦτο . . . . Cf. Sphrantzes, *Majus*, pp. 216, 222 (*CSHB*); pp. 360, 366 (Grecu). Cf. Sp. Lambros, Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος ὡς σύζυγος ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τοῖς θρύλοις, *NH*, IV (1907), pp. 440–443; Papadrianos, *Marriage-arrangement*, pp. 132–138; *DR*, V, no. 3536. This Manuel Palaiologos seems to have been overlooked by Papadopulos. R. Guilland, "Le protostrator," *REB*, VII (1950), p. 173, assumes that he is the Emperor Manuel II, which is impossible for chronological reasons. Thalloczy, *Studien*, pp. 113, 125, makes him a son of Thomas Palaiologos the Despot and so a nephew of the Emperor Constantine; but this too is impossible since Manuel Palaiologos, son of Thomas, was not born until 1455 (Papadopulos, no. 101). I. A. Papadrianos, "Manojlo Paleolog, Vizantijski poslanik u Srbiji 1451," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, VIII, 2 (= *Mélanges Ostrogorsky*, II [1964]), pp. 311–315, identifies him with Manuel Palaiologos Iagros (Jagros or Jagaris), who assisted at the coronation of Constantine XII at Mistra in January 1449. Cf. Papadopulos, no. 184.

[32] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, p. 82, 1–5 (Grecu); *Majus*, pp. 216, 20–217, 4 (*CSHB*); p. 360, 22–29 (Grecu).

Palaiologos gave him the rank of (*megas*) *stratopedarches* because of his relationship to him by marriage and on account of the services rendered by his father the *protostrator*.[33]

It seems possible that he is the unspecified "Kantakouzenos" mentioned by Chalkokondyles, who perished fighting side by side with the Emperor Constantine at the walls of Constantinople in May 1453.[34] The other members of the family known to have been present in the city during the final siege appear either to have escaped or to have been executed by the Sultan. Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 75*) and John Kantakouzenos Palaiologos (*No. 80*) apparently escaped; Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, with his son and the *protostrator* Kantakouzenos, were all executed (*Nos. 68, 69, 76*).

No. 66

Na KANTAKOUZENE (floruit *ca.* 1450)

Daughter of Manuel Kantakouzenos the *protostrator* (*No. 63*). She married N. Komnenos, a nephew of George Philanthropenos, who was himself a son-in-law of Isaac Asen.[35]

Nos. 67–73

THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF GEORGE PALAIOLOGOS KANTAKOUZENOS (*No. 67*). (The probable offspring of Demetrios Kantakouzenos, *sebastokrator*.)

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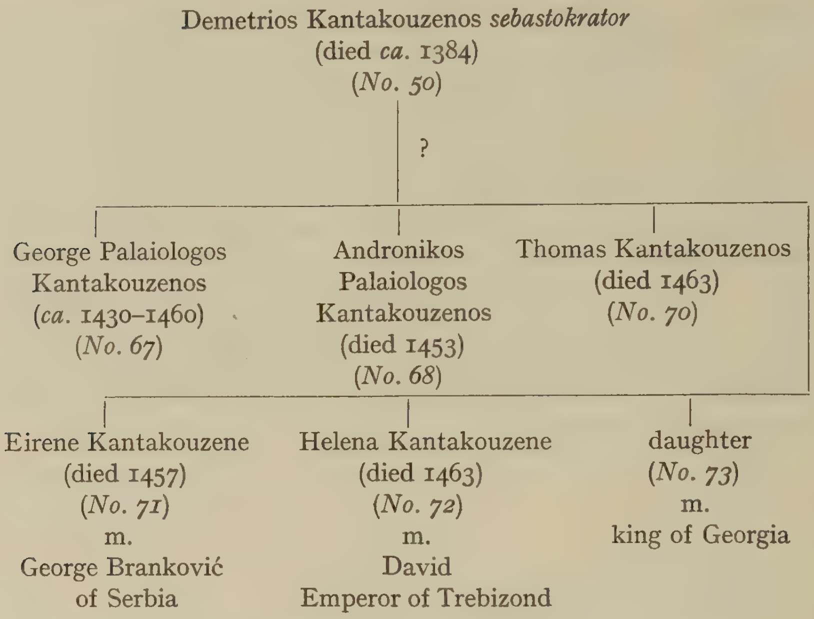
[33] Loukas Notaras, speaking on behalf of the promotion of George Sphrantzes, is made to say to Constantine XII: ἡ βασιλεία σου ζητήσει τοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐποίησας στρατοπεδάρχην τὸν τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ υἱὸν διὰ τὴν συγγαμβρίας συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸν πρωτοστράτορα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα. Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxiv, 4: p. 90, 23–25 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 288, 14–17 (*CSHB*); p. 372, 21–24 (Grecu).

[34] Chalk. viii: II, p. 159, 20–25 (Darkó); p. 395, 12–16 (*CSHB*).

[35] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xvii, 9: p. 30, 34–p. 32, 1 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 141, 17–20 (Papadopoulos); pp. 138, 21–139, 2 (*CSHB*); p. 282, 9–11 (Grecu).

THE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS


Demetrios Kantakouzenos *sebastokrator*
(died *ca.* 1384)
(*No. 50*)
?
George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos
(*ca.* 1430–1460)
(*No. 67*)
Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos
(died 1453)
(*No. 68*)
Thomas Kantakouzenos
(died 1463)
(*No. 70*)
Eirene Kantakouzene
(died 1457)
(*No. 71*)
m.
George Branković of Serbia
Helena Kantakouzene
(died 1463)
(*No. 72*)
m.
David Emperor of Trebizond
daughter
(*No. 73*)
m.
king of Georgia

No. 67

GEORGE PALAIOLOGOS KANTAKOUZENOS (SACHATAI) (floruit 1430–1460)

A grandson of Matthew Kantakouzenos (*No. 24*) and probably a son of Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 50*). Hugues Busac, compiling the illustrious genealogy of his wife Carola Cantacuzène de Flory, begins the line with her grandfather George and his brother the Grand Domestic (Andronikos Kantakouzenos, *No. 68*).[1] Theodore Spandounes claimed him as his maternal grandfather: "... Georgio, nomato Sachatai, mio avo materno...; Georgio Cantacusino, mio avo materno...".[2] Elsewhere Spandounes describes him as a grandson of the Emperor John Kantakouzenos. It seems certain, however, that he was a great-grandson of the Emperor and a grandson of the Emperor's son Matthew.[3]

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[1] Hugues Busac, p. 71: "Proton iton o quir Gorguis que megas domesticos tis Costandinopoleos adelfos aftou."

[2] Spandounes, pp. 156, 36–37; 158, 28–29.

[3] Spandounes, p. 151, 16–17: "Georgio Cantacusino nomato Sachatai; questo era nipote, cioè figliolo del figliolo dell' imperatore Ioanne Canta-

George first distinguished himself in the service of the Despot Constantine Palaiologos in the Peloponnese, where he earned his Turkish name of Sachatai; but he left Greece when Constantine departed for Constantinople in September 1437 to govern the city during the absence of his brother John VIII. After visiting his sister Helena Kantakouzene (*No. 72*) in Trebizond and his other sister Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*) in Serbia, George seems finally to have settled in Serbia and to have assisted in the fortification and defense of the castle of Smederevo on the Danube which his brother-in-law George Branković had built in 1430. He was for a time in command of the garrison of Smederevo.[4]

His activity in the Peloponnese before 1437 is confirmed by two documents of 1431. One is a letter from the Republic of Ragusa to Constantine Palaiologos, then Despot of the Peloponnese, referring to the *ornata relatione magnifici et generosi viri, domini Georgii Palleologi Cantacuxinen (sic), oratoris sui,* who had recently arrived bearing letters written in Greek.[5] The other is an account of his commercial negotiations with the Republic of Ragusa drawn up and signed by George himself on 17 February 1431 for the benefit of Constantine Palaiologos.[6]

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cusino...." But see Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 77–81. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, pp. 261–262, followed by Papadopulos, no. 64, lists George with some reservations as a son of Matthew Kantakouzenos. But he observes that Luccarius in his *Annales Ragusenses* seems to imply that John Kantakouzenos (*No. 49*) was George's uncle, in which case John's brother Demetrios (*No. 50*) must have been his father. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 262: *Luccarius Joannem Georgii patruum videatur innuere, unde Demetrii filius fortean fuerit.* Cf. Giacomo di Pietro Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli Annali di Rausa* (Venice, 1605), p. 93: "(Giorgio Despot di Servia)... si fece portare da una lor galea in Antivari... per andarsene à Costantinopoli à Giorgio, e Gioanni Catacusini, uno di questo zio, l'altro fratello di Hirene sua moglie, & di Helena imperatrice di Drabizonda." See Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 82 note 4.

[4] Spandounes, p. 151, 16–25, who wrongly refers to George's second sister as Helena instead of Eirene. The name Sachatai is also applied by Spandounes to Timur the Mongol (p. 147, 32: "Tamburlan Sachatai"). Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 78 note 2. Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo remarks that "a Zagatay is a man in the host of Timour Beg, of noble lineage," Clavijo, p. 69.

[5] Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, pp. 292–293.

[6] Γράμμα Γεωργίου Παλαιολόγου Καντακουζηνοῦ ἀπεσταλμένου τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου εἰς ʽΡάγουζαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς δεσπότην Πελοποννήσου (*1431*), ed. Sp. Lambros, Παλ. καὶ Πελ., IV, pp. 29–30; *MM*, IV, pp. XI-XII. Cf. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, p. 222; II, pp. 260–261. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 786, 787, p. 293; *idem*, *Dubrovnik i Levant 1280–1460* (Belgrade, 1956), pp. 37, 58, 70. Ferjančić, *Despoti*, pp. 117–118.

George had scholarly inclinations and maintained a library at Kalavryta in the Peloponnese, where Cyriacus of Ancona visited him in 1436. Cyriacus describes his meeting in these words: (27 April 1436)... *per niveos Saturnei montis, et difficiles calles Calabrutam adveni, ubi Georgium Catacuzinon, virum hac aetate graecis litteris eruditum, ac librorum Graecorum omnigenum copiosissimum, qui mihi Herodotum historicum, ac alios plerosque suos optimos, et antiquos libros accomodavit.*[7] He continued his academic pursuits in Serbia after settling at Smederevo. A note dated 31 May 1454 on a manuscript of Procopius indicates that it belonged to the archon (or *archistrategos*) George Kantakouzenos, who was then living in Smederevo.[8]

Spandounes records that George defended Smederevo against the attacks of the Hungarians in 1456, manfully resisting their cruel attempt to undermine his resolution by parading his captive son (Theodore Kantakouzenos, *No. 82*) before the walls. He seems, however, not to have been present at the first Turkish capture of Smederevo by Murad II in 1439 when the defense of the castle was in the hands of his brother Thomas Kantakouzenos (*No. 70*) and one of his relatives, nor at its final siege and capture by Muhammad II on 20 June

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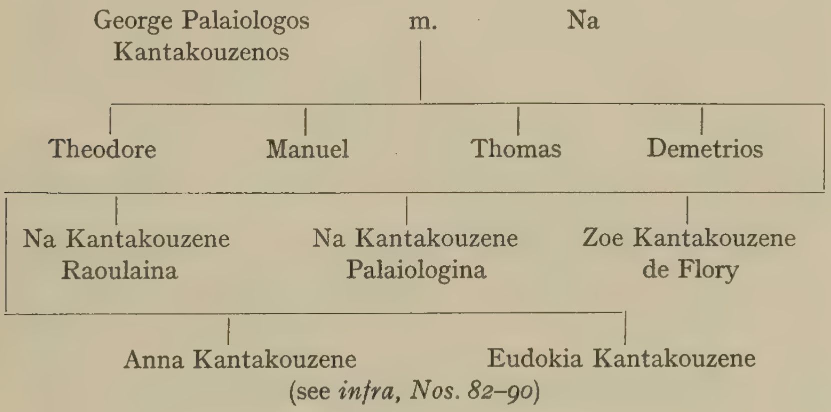
[7] E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Collection Latomus, XLIII [Brussels, 1960]), p. 42. Among the manuscripts copied at Mistra (listed by Zakythenos, *Despotat*, II, pp. 316–319) is one containing the works of Arrian, Diodorus, Nikephoros Gregoras, Bessarion, and others, copied in 1436 by Petros Bouas διὰ συνδρομῆς τοῦ...ἐξαδέλφου τοῦ...βασιλέως...Γεωργίου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ. *Codices Manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, ed. E. Feron and F. Battaglini (Rome, 1893), no. 67, pp. 43–44. Cf. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 385–386.

[8] The note on this manuscript (Cod. Palatin. gr. 278) is by the hand of Demetrios Laskaris Leontares. J. Haury, "Ueber Prokophandschriften," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-philol. und hist. Classe, 1895 (Munich, 1896), I, pp. 163, 166–168. Cf. G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il Cardinale Ruteno* (Studi e Testi, 46 [Rome, 1926]), p. 83 note 1: "Il Leontaris del Vatic. 854 è lo stesso che scrisse nel f. 174^{v} del Palat. gr. 278 la seguente rubrica, male letta dallo Stevenson: Τὸ παρὼν βιβλίον ὑπάρχη τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἄρχοτ′ς [così: ἄρχοντος credo] κῦρ Γεωργίου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ· ἐνέτυχον δὲ αὐτὸς τοῦτο (*corr. da* ταύτην) ἐν τῶ Σμεντερόβω ἐν μηνὶ μαίω λαη′ ιν.ος β′ τοῦ ϛου ϡου ξου βου ἔτους: Δημήτριος Λάσκαρις, ὁ Λεοντάρης +. Cf. Laskaris, *Viz. princeze*, p. 101 and note 1; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 378 and note 122, 425; II, p. 372, where it is stated that George was ransomed from the Turks by George Branković after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

1459. It seems likely that George died between 1456 and 1459.[9]

There seems to be no record of the name of his wife, but Hugues Busac credits him with a family of nine children, four sons and five daughters (*Nos. 82–90*).

Despite the opinions of Iorga and Papadopulos, this George Kantakouzenos is to be distinguished from the George Palaiologos who, according to Sphrantzes, was actively involved in the conflict between the Despots Demetrios and Thomas Palaiologos in the Peloponnese in 1459. He was the father-in-law of the Albanian leader Manuel Bokhalis and a relative of the Beglerbey Mehmed Pasha. Having escaped from capture he settled with his family in Venetian Nauplia in 1460.[10]


George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos
m.
Na
Theodore
Manuel
Thomas
Demetrios
Na Kantakouzene Raoulaina
Na Kantakouzene Palaiologina
Zoe Kantakouzene de Flory
Anna Kantakouzene
Eudokia Kantakouzene
(see *infra, Nos. 82–90*)

No. 68

ANDRONIKOS PALAIOLOGOS KANTAKOUZENOS, Grand Domestic (died 1453)

Andronikos, the last Grand Domestic of the last Byzantine Emperor, was perhaps a son of Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 50*).

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[9] Spandounes, p. 155, 33–34; p. 156, 36. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 78–79. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 387–389.

[10] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxix, 6; xl, 8: pp. 112, 120 (Grecu); *Majus*, pp. 390–391, 406–407 (*CSHB*); pp. 530, 544 (Grecu). The distinction between the two Georges is made by Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 79–80. Cf. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, p. 292 note 6; Papadopulos, no. 186. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 269–270; Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 198, 212.

He was certainly a brother of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*); as such he is designated by Hugues Busac, though without his first name.[11] He is probably to be identified with the Grand Domestic Kantakouzenos whom John VIII sent to the Despot of Serbia in the autumn of 1436 to persuade the Serbians to send a delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Sylvester Syropoulos, describing this event, defines the Grand Domestic as "brother-in-law of the Despot of Serbia"; Andronikos was the brother of Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*), wife of the Despot George Branković. He was greatly in favor of union with Rome and antipathetic to the Serbians, probably because of their refusal to subscribe to the cause.[12]

Andronikos was among those, together with John Kantakouzenos (*No. 80*), who, in 1451, felt that the Emperor Constantine XII should marry the daughter of the Emperor of Trebizond rather than Maria-Mara, the widowed daughter of George Branković, again probably out of his dislike of the Serbians.[13]

In April 1448 he was a signatory of the treaty between Byzantium and Venice, in place of Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 75*) who was indisposed.[14]

Andronikos was killed just after the capture of Constantinople in May 1453. The author of the *Ecthesis Chronica* records that the Grand Domestic and the Grand Duke (Loukas Notaras) together with the *protostrator* Kantakouzenos (*No. 76*) were arrested and executed five days after the Turks entered the capital.[15]

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[11] Hughes Busac, p. 71: "...o quir Gorguis que megas domesticos tis Costandinopoleos adelfos aftou."

[12] Syropoulos, *Historia vera*, p. 45: Εἰς δὲ τὸν δεσπότην Σερβίας ἀνέθηκαν τῷ γυναικαδέλφῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ μεγάλῳ Δομεστίκῳ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ; cf. pp. 37, 39, 49, 64, 82. *DR*, V, no. 3461.

[13] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxii, 7: p. 84, 20f. (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 221, 26 f. (*CSHB*); p. 366, 3f. (Grecu).

[14] A note appended at the end of the text of this treaty states: 'Αντὶ κῦρ Δημητρίου Παλαιολόγου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ. ἐπεὶ οὐ παρῆν νόσῳ τινὶ κωλυθεὶς, παρῆν ὁ μέγας δομέστικος. κῦρ 'Ανδρόνικος Παλαιολόγος ὁ Καντακουζηνός. Lambros, Συνθήκη, p. 170, 4. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 3516.

[15] Doukas xl, 7: p. 383, 1 (Grecu); p. 305 (*CSHB*); p. 491 (Italian version in *CSHB*). *Ecthesis Chronica*, pp. 16, 24–17, 2. Cf. R. Guilland, "Le Grand Domesticat à Byzance," *EO*, XXXVIII (1938), p. 58; V. Laurent, "Notes complémentaires," *ibid.*, p. 71; Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 83.

One of his sons (*No. 69*) married a daughter of the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras.[16]

Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos m. Na
Grand Domestic
(died 1453)

N. Kantakouzenos
(*No. 69*)
m.
daughter
of
Loukas Notaras

No. 69

N. KANTAKOUZENOS (PALAIOLOGOS) (died 1453)

A son of the Grand Domestic Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 68*). He married a daughter of the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras, with whose family he was executed after the fall of Constantinople in May 1453. Doukas, describing the heroic end of Notaras, relates how the Grand Duke embraced his wife and children and then went forth to his execution with his son and his son-in-law Kantakouzenos.[17]

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[16] Doukas xl, 7: p. 383, 15–16 (Grecu); p. 305 (*CSHB*), records that Notaras, addressing his children before his execution, remarked: Ποῦ ἐμὸς συμπενθερὸς καὶ σὸς πατήρ, ὁ μέγας δομέστικος;

[17] Doukas xl, 7: pp. 381, 33–383, 1 (Grecu); p. 304, 5–7 (*CSHB*): ἠσπάσατο τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπορεύετο σὺν τῷ δημίῳ, αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Καντακουζηνός. Ps.- Sphrantzes, describing the same event, speaks of the "two sons" of Notaras being murdered before his eyes. Chalkokondyles writes of Notaras and "his sons" being captured, and goes on to relate how the Sultan personally ransomed Notaras with his wife and children and gave him the choice of a place of refuge in which to settle. Later, however, when Notaras refused to hand over his twelve-year old son at the Sultan's request, the whole family was put to death. Sphrantzes, *Majus*, p. 434, 27–28 (Grecu); p. 293, 7 (*CSHB*); Chalk. ii: pp. 162, 10–11; 165, 11–166, 16 (Darkó); pp. 398, 10–11, 401, 18–403, 5 (*CSHB*). Only Doukas mentions any daughters of Notaras. Cf. Doukas xxxix, 26: p. 371, 16 (Grecu); p. 295, 13 (*CSHB*). Ada de Montaldo, the Genoese chronicler of the fall of Constantinople, records that the wife of Notaras committed suicide rather than bear the shame of being taken by the Sultan Muhammad, while his daughter was shut in the Sultan's harem. See Lambros, Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος, pp. 454–466. The *Ecthesis Chronica* speaks of the murder of Notaras'

No. 70

THOMAS KANTAKOUZENOS (died 1463)

A brother of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos and so probably a son of Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 50*). Giovanni Musachi rightly makes him a brother of Eirene Kantakouzene Branković (*No. 71*), mother of the Serbian Despot Lazar, but then wishes to call him a son of the Emperor John VI, which is absurd. DuCange also lists this Thomas among the sons of John VI, and Filitti seems to have adopted this error.[18]

Sphrantzes describes him as Thomas Kantakouzenos, uncle of the "amerissa" Maria-Mara, daughter of George Branković of Serbia.[19] He was among the many Greeks who entered the service of the Despot of Serbia after Eirene's marriage to George Branković in 1414. Documents from the archives of Ragusa attest his presence at Branković's court in the years 1433 and 1435.[20] In 1439 he helped

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sons before his eyes, except for the youngest whose name was Isaac. He was taken prisoner by the Sultan at Adrianople, but contrived shortly to escape and made his way to join his sister in Rome. *Ecthesis Chronica*, p. 17, 1–10. His sister was Anna Palaiologina Notaras, who was sent to settle in Italy by her father before 1453. She became in some sense protectress of the Greek community in Venice where she died at a ripe old age in 1507. See Spandounes, Preface, ed. Sathas, p. iv f. She was joined in Venice by her niece Eudokia Kantakouzene (*No. 90*). Two other members of the Notaras family appear to have escaped from Constantinople in May 1453. The list of refugees taken aboard by the Genoese captain Zorzi Doria includes the names: Βλάσιος καὶ Ματθαῖος Νοταράδες μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτούς. A. Moustoxides, in *Hellenomnenon* (Athens, 1843), p. 299.

[18] Musachi, *Historia*, p. 304: "La madre del detto Despoto de Servia (Lazaro) fù sorella de Thoma Catacusino che fù figlio de Giovanni; morse l'anno 1457, et nel detto anno morse suo marito Giurgo Vulgo predetto, et il prefato Giovanni Catacusino fù alcuni anni Imperadore, che fè la guerra in Albania et la roino." DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 260. Filitti, p. 6: "Thomas Cantacuzène, frère du précédent, vivait en 1358," apparently emending DuCange's date MCCCCLVII to MCCCLVIII. Filitti, p. 7, lists Thomas again, correctly, as defender of Smederevo in 1444–1457.

[19] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxvii, 14: p. 108, 15–17 (Grecu): . . . διέβη εἰς τὸν ἀμηρᾶν ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς [Εἰρήνης] ἀμήρισσα μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ τυφλοῦ καὶ τοῦ θείου αὐτῆς Θωμᾶ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ: *Majus*, p. 526, 2 (Grecu); p. 386, 12 (*CSHB*). Hugues Busac omits any mention of Thomas among the brothers and sisters of George Kantakouzenos. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 79 note 2, 84.

[20] Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, p. 316 ("Thoma, cognato del signor" in 1433), p. 325, p. 329 ("Toma, suo frar" in 1435), p. 334. He is also most probably the *magnificus juvenis Thomas, Georgii filius, Kataquzino* whom Cyriacus of Ancona met in Selymbria. See Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, IV, ed. V. Jagić (Vienna, 1919), p. 33; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, I, p. 345; II, p. 371 and references.

to defend the fortress of Smederevo when it was attacked by the Turks. It surrendered on 18 August of that year after a siege lasting three months. Doukas records that those who came out from the castle to do homage to the Sultan Murad II included the first son of the Despot (Branković) (i.e., Gregory, *No. 93*) and "his uncle on his mother's side, Thomas Kantakouzenos." The Sultan then installed a garrison in Smederevo and made for Novo Brdo (Novopridon).[21]

After the fall of Smederevo the two sons of George Branković, Gregory and Stephen, were taken away by the Sultan and blinded. But their uncle Thomas seems to have returned to carry on the fight on behalf of his brother-in-law. On 16 September 1448 he led the Despot's army to victory over the Kral of Bosnia and restored Srebrnica to Serbian rule. In 1452 he was again in command of a Serbian army which invaded Zeta, but on 14 September he was routed by the Voivode Stefan Črnojević.[22]

In the archives of Ragusa there exists a document of 18 November 1456 in which George Branković attests that his brother-in-law Thomas Kantakouzenos is the trustee of the property of the late Thomas "Serianni."[23] But a little over a month later George Branković was dead; and Thomas seems to have been unable to prevent the persecution of his widowed sister Eirene by her headstrong son Lazar (*No. 96*). On 3 May 1457, on the night of Eirene's death, Thomas fled from Smederevo to the Sultan at Adrianople in company with his niece Maria-Mara and his nephew Gregory.[24]

Thomas was summoned to appear in court in Ragusa on 11 August 1459 and again on 18 March 1462; but it appears unlikely that he ever answered the summons. The Serbian Annals record the death of Thomas Kantakouzenos on 25 July 1463, immediately after the fall of Bosnia to the Turks.[25]

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[21] Doukas xxx, 4: pp. 261–263 (Grecu); p. 261, 31–33: Ἦσαν δὲ ἐντὸς ὁ πρῶτος υἱὸς τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος αὐτοῦ ὁ Καντακουζηνός; p. 209 (*CSHB*). Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 660, 666, p. 232; *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 95, 104; ed. Bogdan, p. 522: "V leto 6947 priimi car Mourat Smederevo, augousta 27, i izvede Grigoura i Thomou." For the date, however, cf. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 362–363; II, p. 371; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 28; Iorga, *Grandes familles*, pp. 1–2.

[22] Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 683, pp. 235–236. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, I, pp. 372, 376; II, p. 371. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, p. 430; III, p. 273.

[23] Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 1350, p. 396.

[24] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, p. 108, 14f.; *Majus*, p. 526 (Grecu); p. 386 (*CSHB*). Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 719, p. 241. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 385; II, pp. 371–372; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 179.

No. 71

EIRENE KANTAKOUZENE BRANKOVIĆ, *basilissa* (*ca.* 1400–1457)

Eirene was one of the sisters of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*) and the wife of George Branković, Despot of Serbia. Both Hugues Busac and Theodore Spandounes describe her as a sister of George: the former makes her the eldest sister; the latter, who claims to have been George's grandson, calls her: "Erina Cantacusina sorella del principe Georgio Cantacusino, mio avo materno." Elsewhere Spandounes describes her mistakenly as: "Helena, moglie del Despoto Jurgo di Servia."[26] Giovanni Musachi likewise gives a brief if not wholly accurate account of her: "La madre del detto Despoto de Servia (*sc.* Lazar, son of George Branković) fù sorella de Thoma Catacusino che fù figlio de Giovanni; morse l'anno 1457, et nel detto anno morse suo marito Giurgo Vulgo predetto...."[27]

George, son of Vuk Branković, became Despot of Serbia in 1427, by which time he had been married to Eirene Kantakouzene for some thirteen years. The marriage took place on 26 December 1414, Eirene having arrived in Serbia from Thessalonike. She was his second if not his third wife.[28] It was George who constructed the great fortress of Smederevo on the Danube in 1430, apparently with Eirene's active support. One of the towers of the castle is known as the Tower of Eirene (Jerinina Kula); and she is accused rightly or wrongly of having brought great hardship on the people of the countryside by levying taxes and recruiting forced labor for the building operations. Eirene's reputation in Serbian folklore is not flattering and in the ballads of Smederevo she is referred to as "the accursed Eirene" (Jerina proklita).[29]

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[25] Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 745, p. 246; no. 1206, p. 295; *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 97, 106; ed. Bogdan, p. 524; *Bulgarski Starini*, p. 150. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, II, p. 372. It is possible that Thomas is to be identified with the fifteenth-century Thomas Kantakouzenos who owned or copied a manuscript of the Epistles of Libanius (Cod. Monac. 483). See *Libanii Opera*, ed. R. Foerster, I (*Orationes*) (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 15–16; M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 150.

[26] Hugues Busac, pp. 71, 74: "Proton iton o quir Gorguis que megas domesticos tis Costandinopoleos adelfos aftou. Que ihan adelfades tris, toutesti iii. Tin protin epandrepsan me ton despotin tis Serviais onomati Eriny." Spandounes, p. 158, 28–29; p. 151, 21–22, on which see Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 78 note 1.

[27] Musachi, *Historia*, p. 304.

[28] The date of George's marriage to Eirene is given by Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 624, p. 224; *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 103. Cf. Laskaris, *Viz. princeze*, pp. 98–99. In a document of November 1419 for the monastery of St. Paul

Smederevo was taken by the Sultan Murad II in August 1439 after a siege lasting for three months, at which it was defended by Eirene's brother Thomas Kantakouzenos (*No. 70*) and George Branković's eldest son Gregory (*No. 93*). At that time George and Eirene seem to have been in Hungary with their family. George participated in the campaigns against the Turks organized by John Corvinus Hunyadi, the Voivode of Transylvania; but in August 1444 Smederevo was restored to him by Murad II.[30] The fortress was subjected to renewed attacks by the Sultan Muhammad II,

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on Mount Athos George refers to his wife "Erine Katakouzine." Novaković, *Zak. Spom.*, pp. 530–531. George was granted the Byzantine title of Despot by the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, who sent George Philanthropenos to Serbia with the insignia apparently in 1429. Doukas xxx, 3: p. 259, 24–25 (Grecu); p. 207 (*CSHB*). *DR*, V, no. 3453, dates this event to the year 1436. Doukas, however, places it in the year of Maria-Mara's marriage to Murad II, which seems firmly dated to 4 September 1435, at which time George was already Despot. But see Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, II, p. 342; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, p. 189. A useful bibliography on George Branković is supplied in *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije*, I (Belgrade, 1953), pp. 508–509. See also C. Mijatović, *Despot Djuradj Branković gospodar Srbima Podunavu i Zetskom primorju*, 2 vols. (Belgrade, 1880, 1882); St. Novaković, *Poslední Brankovići u istorii i u narodnom pevanu 1456–1502* (Novi Sad, 1886); Ferjančić, *Despoti*, pp. 187–192; *Enciklоped. Jugoslav*, II, pp. 182–183. He had earlier been married to a daughter of Alexios IV of Trebizond and Theodora Kantakouzene; see *supra*, *No. 61*, p. 169 and note 21. On his marriage to Eirene, see Mijatović, *op. cit.*, I, p. 77; Laskaris, *Viz. princeze*, pp. 98–99; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 345; II, p. 371.

[29] Cf. *Spomenica petstogodišnjice Smederevskoga grada Despota Djurdja Brankovića 1430–1930* (Belgrade, 1930), pp. 8–10; C. Stewart, *Serbian Legacy* (London, 1959), p. 88.

[30] Doukas xxx, 4: pp. 261–263 (Grecu); p. 209 (*CSHB*); xxxii, 1: p. 273, 13–14 (Grecu); p. 218 (*CSHB*). Kritoboulos ii, 9.2: p. 185 (Grecu). *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 95; ed. Bogdan, p. 522. Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 663, no. 1154, pp. 232, 292. Cf. Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 28–29, 47. O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna: A Discussion of Controversial Problems* (New York, 1943), pp. 54–56.

who finally captured it in June 1459.[31] By then, however, George Branković was already dead. He died on 24 December 1456 leaving his youngest son Lazar (*No. 96*) as successor under the regency of Eirene. Less than a year later, on the night of 2–3 May 1457, Eirene herself died at Rudnik.[32]

The circumstances of Eirene's death are melancholy. Kritoboulos relates that her son Lazar quickly deprived her of all authority after her husband's death and ill-treated her to such an extent that she tried to escape to the Sultan with her daughter the *emirissa* (Maria-Mara) and her blind son Gregory. Lazar pursued them; and, although Gregory and his sister got away, Eirene was arrested. Shortly afterward she fell ill and died and was buried "there."[33] Spandounes adds flavor to the tale by relating that Eirene died as a result of poison put in her salad by her son Lazar, who thus came into his inheritance of the Despotate of Serbia.[34]

George Branković had five children, three boys and two girls: Gregory, Stephen, and Lazar; Maria (or Mara) and Catherine called "Kantakouzene."[35] Of these Maria-Mara (*No. 92*) was certainly the child of George's previous marriage and so not related to the Kantakouzenos family. Of the other children, Gregory, Stephen, Lazar, and Catherine (*Nos. 93–96*), only the last is known to have borne the name Kantakouzene. In his chrysobull of 16 February 1452 for the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos George Branković described his offspring thus: "the carica Kyra-Mara, Kyra-Katakouzina, Grgur (Gregory), Stephen, the Despot Lazar and the Despotica Helena Palaiologina (Lazar's wife)."[36]

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[31] Doukas xlii, 10, 11: pp. 397–398 (Grecu); pp. 316–317 (*CSHB*). *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 97; ed. Bogdan, p. 524. Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 735, 1200, pp. 244, 295. Cf. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 387–389. For the chronology of Muhammad II's campaigns in Serbia between 1454 and 1459 and his treaty with George Branković in 1455, see Inalcik, *Mehmed*, pp. 416–422.

[32] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxviii, 14: p. 108, 13–15 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 524, 33 (Grecu); p. 386, 5–9 (*CSHB*): καὶ τῷ ϛϡξε΄ ἔτει... ὁ τῆς Σερβίας ἄρχων καὶ δεσπότης κὺρ Γεώργιος ὁ Βοῦλκος ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ Μαΐῳ β΄ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους καὶ βασίλισσα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανεν. *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 96, 105; ed. Bogdan, p. 523; Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 712, 718, pp. 240, 241; no. 1187, p. 294; no. 1190, p. 294 (giving the date of George's death as 24 December 1456 and that of Eirene's death at Rudnik as 3 May 1457). Cf. Laskaris, *Viz. princeze*, pp. 105–110; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 385 and note 153; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, p. 191; F. Dölger, in *BZ*, XXVII (1927), p. 134 (review of Laskaris, *Viz. princeze*); Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 179. In 1457 George Branković's two sons, Lazar and Stephen, came into the money which he and Eirene had deposited in Ragusa. Documents of 12 August, 29 November, and 14 December 1457, in Miklosich, *Mon. Serb.* nos. CCCLXXIX, CCCLXXX, CCCLXXXI, pp. 476–479. Cf. no. CCCLXXXII, pp. 479–480, concerning the eldest son Gregory.

[33] Kritoboulos ii, 20. 6–9: p. 207 (Grecu).

[34] Spandounes, p. 158, 30–32: "Lazaro non contento di questo, anchora per usurpare il tutto, sensa il timore del Dio avenenò in una lattuca la madre sua Erina sopranominata, principessa in quella etade dotata d'ogni virtute." So also Musachi, *Historia*, p. 332, who calls her: "Caterina Catacusina alias Erina." Cf. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 385 and note 153.

Portraits of Eirene and George with all his five children exist in miniatures on a chrysobull in the monastery of Esphigmenou on Mount Athos, dated 11 September 1429, by terms of which the Despot George and his wife the Despotica Kyra Eirene undertake to pay an annuity of fifty pounds of silver to the monastery.[37] The portraits on this document are in two rows: on the upper row are shown the Despot George standing between his wife Eirene (on his left) and his eldest son Gregory (on his right); his daughter Mara stands to the left of her mother (figs. 11 and 12). On the lower row are the other three children: (Catherine) "Katakouzena" standing between the smaller figures of her brothers Stephen (on her right) and Lazar (on her left) (fig. 13).[38]

George's daughter Catherine can have inherited the name "Katakouzena" only from her mother. Since she is represented as evidently taller and therefore older than her brothers Stephen and Lazar, it may be deduced that they too were the children of Eirene; and since all three are grouped on the lower row of portraits it is tempting to suppose that the third son, Gregory, who appears in the upper row of figures, was, like Maria-Mara, a child of George Branković's previous marriage. On the other hand, Spandounes records that at the time of their mutilation by the Sultan Murad II in 1441 Gregory and Stephen were aged sixteen and fifteen respectively, which, if correct, signifies that Gregory too must have been a child of Eirene, having been born in 1425, eleven years after Eirene's marriage to George Branković.[39]

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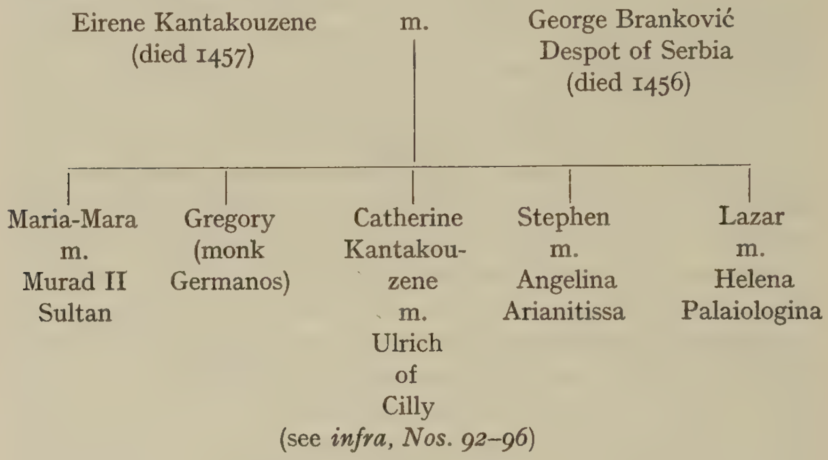
[35] Cf. Hugues Busac, pp. 71, 75, who correctly names them all except for the last who remains anonymous.

[36] Novaković, *Zak. Spom.*, p. 503.

[37] Text in Petit, *Esphigmenou*, no. XXIII, pp. 44–45. Cf. Miklosich, *Mon. Serb.*, pp. 359–360.

[38] The fullest publication of this manuscript and its miniatures is that of Popović-Smirnov, *Miniatura*. Cf. D. Avramović, *Opisanie drevnosti srpski u svetoj Atonskoj Gori* (Belgrade, 1847), pp. 67–69 and pl. xii; Radojčić, *Portreti*; V. J. Djurić, "Portreti na poveljama vizantijskih i srpskih vladara," *Sbornik filosofskog fakulteta*, VII (Belgrade, 1963), pp. 251–272 and pls. 7, 8, 15, 16; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, p. 189.


Eirene Kantakouzene (died 1457)
m.
George Branković Despot of Serbia (died 1456)
Maria-Mara m. Murad II Sultan
Gregory (monk Germanos)
Catherine Kantakouzene m. Ulrich of Cilly (see *infra, Nos. 92–96*)
Stephen m. Angelina Arianitissa
Lazar m. Helena Palaiologina

No. 72

HELENA KANTAKOUZENE, Empress of Trebizond (died 1463)

One of the sisters of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*). Hugues Busac designates her as such without supplying her name, and records her marriage to the Emperor of Trebizond. Spandounes provides her name.[40]

Helena became the second wife of David Komnenos, last Emperor of Trebizond, the son of Alexios IV and Theodora Kantakouzene (*No. 61*). David's first wife was Maria, daughter of Alexios of Gotthia. The dates of her death and his marriage to Helena are not known. He succeeded his brother John on the throne of Trebizond in 1458 or 1460.[41]

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[39] Spandounes, p. 152, 41–42: "(Amurath) privò della luce dui suoi cognati Stephano et Jurgo, uno de anni XV, l'altro di XVI. . . ." Cf. Giacomo di Pietro Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli Annali di Rausa* (Venice, 1605), pp. 92–93.

[40] Hugues Busac, pp. 71, 75: "I ali adelfi tu aftou quir Gorgui que aftou domesticou tis poleos epandrepsan tin me ton vasilef tis Trapezondas." Spandounes, p. 159, 21–22: ". . .l'imperador di Trapesonda David Comgnino, la moglie Helena Cantacusina, sorella de mio avo materno (i.e., of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos)."

When the Empire of Trebizond fell to the Turks in 1461 David and his family were shipped to Constantinople to await the pleasure of the Sultan Muhammad, who later made arrangements for David to reside near Serres in the Strymon valley and granted him an annuity. Helena was presumably with him, although one source reports that, when the Turks began their siege of Trebizond in the summer of 1461, David sent her to take refuge with the Georgian ruler Mamia or Mania of Guria.[42] Two years later David was accused of complicity in a plot against the Sultan, imprisoned in Adrianople and then executed at Constantinople on 1 November 1463 together with most of his children. Spandounes speaks of eight sons and one daughter, all of whom were martyred with their father, except for the eighth son, then aged three, and the daughter, then aged sixteen. Other sources tell of three sons and a nephew who were executed with David in 1463. Spandounes is also the author of the tragic tale of Helena's dramatic end: Muhammad confiscated all her late husband's property and then condemned her to pay him the sum of 15,000 ducats within the space of three days on pain of execution. Her retainers in Constantinople contrived to raise the money on her behalf within twenty-four hours. But Helena put on sackcloth, shut herself up in a hut near the unburied corpses of her husband and family and took a vow that she would never eat meat again in her life. The Sultan had decreed that the bodies of David and his children should become the prey of the dogs and crows. But Helena defended the corpses from her hut all day and night, while secretly digging a trench in which eventually she buried them. A few days later she died. David's two surviving children were sent as a present to Uzun Hasan of Persia, Khan of the Turkomans of the White Sheep (Ak-Koyunlu), who was a nephew of Helena by marriage. The three-year old son, who may well have been a child of Helena, was made a Muslim but later escaped to Georgia where he abjured Islam in favor of Christianity and married a daughter of the king.[43] The daughter Anna was given to Zaganos Pasha and later forced to become a Muslim and to marry Sinan, son of Elvan Bey.[44]

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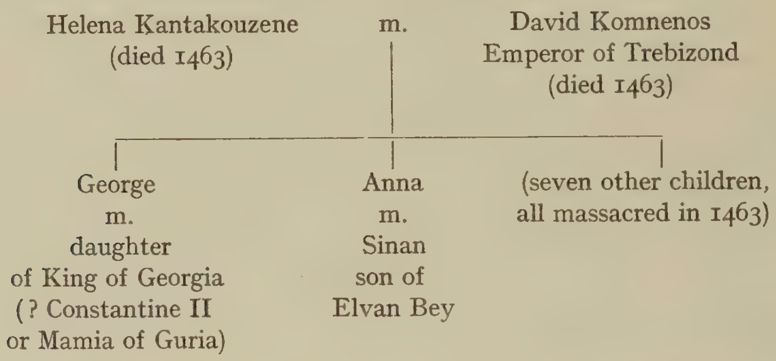
[41] Panaretos, 57, ed. Lambros, p. 294; ed. Lampsides, p. 81, 23–26. O. Lampsides, Ὁ γάμος Δαβὶδ τοῦ Μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ κατὰ τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Παναρέτου, Ἀθηνᾶ, XXVII (1953), pp. 365–368.

[42] See A. Bryer, "Ludovico da Bologna and the Georgian and Anatolian Embassy of 1460–1461," *Bedi Kartlisa, Revue de Kartvélologie. Etudes géorgiennes et caucasiennes*, XIX–XX (1965), p. 183.



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[43] Uzun Hasan (died 1478) had married Theodora (Despina Khatun), daughter of David's brother and predecessor John IV of Trebizond. See C. Diehl, "Catherine ou Théodora," *BZ*, XXII (1913), pp. 88–89; W. Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd* (Ankara, 1948), pp. 29–30. C. Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, trans. by J. Carmichael and M. Perlmann (New York, 1960), pp. 281 f., 318 f. Spandounes, p. 159, 29–30, gives the name of the Georgian king with whom David's son took refuge as "Gurguiabei," which sounds like George VIII (1446–1465); but in view of the boy's age the king might rather have been Constantine II (1478–1505). Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 88–89 (who gives different dates for these kings of Georgia; but cf. Toumanoff, *Bagratids*, pp. 186–189, 200–201); Miller, *Trebizond*, pp. 109–110. On the other hand, it seems possible that the word "Gurguiabei" is a corruption of Guria Bey, and that the "king" in question is Mamia, ruler of Guria, with whom Helena is said to have sought asylum in 1461.

[44] Chalk. ii: p. 240 (Darkó); pp. 498, 527 (*CSHB*). Doukas xlv, 19: pp. 429–430 (Grecu); pp. 342–343 (*CSHB*). Kritoboulos iv, 7–9. 1: pp. 283–289 (Grecu). Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xl, 2: p. 128 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 552 (Grecu); p. 414 (*CSHB*). *Ecthesis Chronica*, pp. 25–27. *Hist. Polit.*, pp. 37–38. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Τραπεζουντιακά, *VV*, V (1898), pp. 678, 680; Sp. Lambros, Τὸ ἔτος τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Δαβὶδ Κομνηνοῦ, *NH*, VII (1910), pp. 86–87, 494–495; *idem*, Ὁ τελευταῖος Ἕλλην αὐτοκράτωρ, *NH*, XIV (1917–1920), pp. 270–293; Camilla Lucerna, *Die letzte Kaiserin von Trapezunt in der südslavischen Dichtung* (Sarajevo, 1912); J. Enoch Powell, "Die letzten Tage der Grosskomnenen," *BZ*, XXXVII (1937), pp. 358–359. Cf. A. M. Schneider, "Miscellanea Constantinopolitana," *Oriens Christianus*, XXXVI (1941), p. 224; Miller, *Trebizond*, pp. 108–110; Chrysanthos, *Trebizond*, pp. 521–522; Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 235–237, 261–262, 277–278; A. Bryer, "Trebizond and Serbia," Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, XXVII (1965), p. 38. Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, Table XXVII.

No. 73

Na KANTAKOUZENE, Queen of Georgia (floruit *ca.* 1450)

A sister of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*) and wife of the king of Georgia. Her existence and identification rest solely upon the testimony of Hugues Busac: "Tin alin adelfin tou quir Gorgui epandrepsan me tin rigan tis Iverias."[45]

There appears to be no independent Greek or Georgian evidence to support this statement of Busac, but it need not therefore be dismissed as fictitious. The kings of Georgia who lived within the appropriate chronological limits were as follows:

(i) Alexander I the Great, who reigned from 1412–1442. He married twice but neither of his wives was Greek.

(ii) Alexander's eldest son Vakhtang IV (1442–1446), who married a Georgian wife and died without issue.

(iii) Alexander's second son Demetrios III (1446–1452/53), who married a lady called Gulasar about whom nothing seems to be known.

(iv) Alexander's third son George VIII (King of Georgia 1446–1465). He married his first cousin Daria of Georgia in 1445. One of the documents of his reign, however, dated 6 August 1453, mentions "our consort, the Lady Queen of Queens, Thamar." This may indicate that George VIII had a previous wife called Thamar, who presumably died before 1445.

Of these kings, the most likely candidate seems to be George VIII, if one assumes that the mysterious lady Thamar was Greek.[46]

Hugues Busac goes on to report that she together with her husband the king and their children were captured by the Turks and taken to some unknown place. There is no evidence of Turkish attacks on the kingdom of Georgia at this period. On the other hand, it is known that George VIII, himself a usurper, was captured by Qvarqvare III, Duke of Meschia, in 1465, and dethroned in favor of Bagrat VI. He then set himself up as an independent prince in his former appanage of Kakhetia. It is at least possible that Busac has recounted some garbled version of these events, in which the capture and dethronement of George VIII was attributed to the Turks.[47]

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[45] Hugues Busac, p. 71.

[46] This list of Georgian kings is derived from Toumanoff, *Bagratids*, pp. 176–188, 190, who is, however, inclined (p. 188) to the opinion that Thamar and Daria are one and the same person under different names. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 84–85, commenting on the statement of Busac, remarks that the information appears to be sound and that the king in question ought, on chronological grounds, to be Alexander I. If, on the other hand, he is George VIII, it is hardly credible that George Sphrantzes, who in 1450–1451 was commissioned to negotiate for the hand of George's daughter in marriage for Constantine Palaiologos, should have failed to mention that the lady's mother was a Byzantine princess.

No. 74

N. KANTAKOUZENOS PHAKRASES (floruit 1439)

Sent as ambassador from Constantinople to the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos in 1439, when the Emperor was in Italy attending the Council of Florence. His mission was to urge the Emperor to persuade the Pope to provide at least two ships for the immediate defense of Constantinople against the daily increasing pressure from the Turks.[1]

No. 75

DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS KANTAKOUZENOS, *mesazon* (floruit 1420-after 1453?)

When the Sultan Muhammad I died in the spring of 1421 there was a division of opinion in Byzantium as to whether the Greeks should recognize his son Murad as successor or bring his uncle Mustafa from Mistra and help set him up as lord of the West with Murad as lord of Asia. The Emperor, Manuel II, thought that they should support Murad in accordance with their agreements; but his son John in company with Demetrios Kantakouzenos opted for helping Mustafa. Murad finally triumphed over all his rivals, established his position as Sultan and killed his uncle. The Emperors Manuel and John then became anxious because of the support they had given to Mustafa; and in April 1422 they sent an embassy to him. The envoys were Demetrios Kantakouzenos, Matthew Laskaris, and Angelos Philomattes. The Sultan, understandably annoyed, clapped them all in prison. They were not released until February 1424, after the conclusion of a treaty between John VIII and Murad.[2]

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[47] Hugues Busac, pp. 71–72, 75: "Epican pedia que ola ehatican, oti epiran ta i Torqui que den ixevri tinas tiuta eguenycan." Toumanoff, *Bagratids*, pp. 186–187. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 85, offers as a solution the suggestion that Busac has probably confused the fate of two sisters, this lady and Helena of Trebizond, who was in fact captured by the Turks.

[1] Syropoulos, *Historia Vera*, sect. VIII, cap. III, p. 219: Ἐν τούτοις δὲ ὄντων ἡμῶν πρέσβεις ἐπεδήμησεν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Καντακουζηνὸς ὁ Φακρασῆς μετὰ γραμμάτων τῶν τε δεσποινῶν καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου, καὶ τῶν μεσαζόντων. Lambros, Ἔκφρασις, pp. 32^{a}–32^{b}.

Demetrios was a cousin of John VIII and played a prominent part in diplomatic affairs as *mesazon* of John and also of Constantine XII Palaiologos. He was a witness to John VIII's treaties with Venice in September 1423, May 1431, October 1436, September 1442, and July 1447; and he is to be identified with the Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, cousin (ἐξάδελφος) of the Emperor, in place of whom the Grand Domestic Andronikos Kantakouzenos (*No. 68*) appended his signature to the treaty with Venice in April 1448.[3]

Loukas Notaras appears to have been his colleague in the office of *mesazon*; and when John VIII died in 1448 Demetrios and Notaras were among those who, with the Dowager Empress Helena, resisted the attempt of Demetrios Palaiologos to seize the throne.[4]

Like other members of the Kantakouzenos family, Demetrios played a heroic part in the defense of the capital in 1453. He was in command of a reserve patrol of 700 men in the neighborhood of the church of the Holy Apostles, supported by his son-in-law

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[2] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, viii, 3; x, 1: pp. 12, 14 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 252, 24; p. 254, 26; p. 256, 31–32 (Grecu); I, pp. 116–121 (118, 4–5; 119, 24) (Papadopoulos); pp. 112–116, 118 (114, 12; 116, 13) (*CSHB*). Xivrey, *Mémoire*, pp. 172, 175. *DR*, V, nos. 3390, 3414.

[3] *MM*, III, pp. 172, 24; 185, 33; 215, 22; 224, 5. Lambros, Συνθήκη, pp. 168, 13; 169, 37; 170, 4 and 21. Cf. Filitti, p. 8; Papadopulos, no. 170; J. Verpeaux, "Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: ὁ μεσάζων," *BS*, XVI (1955), pp. 287–288.

[4] Chalk. ii: pp. 140, 25–141, 7 (Darkó); pp. 373, 19–374, 6 (*CSHB*). Sylvester Syropoulos likewise links the two *mesazontes* Kantakouzenos and Notaras. Syropoulos, *Historia Vera*, XII, 8: pp. 342–343; cf. II, 16: p. 12; II, 27: p. 26; II, 36: p. 37. Verpeaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–289. Cf. H.-G. Beck, "Der byzantinische 'Ministerpräsident'," *BZ*, XLVIII (1955), p. 312 and note 10, who is inclined to doubt the collegiality of the office of *mesazon*.

Nikephoros Palaiologos; and he and Theophilos Palaiologos successfully beat back one of the Turkish assaults upon the walls.[5]

His subsequent fate is unclear. DuCange says that he and his son-in-law died in the final siege of the city. S. Runciman says that he was captured alive. On the other hand it seems quite possible that he is the Demetrios Kantakouzenos known to have escaped with his family from Constantinople on the day of its fall, 29 May 1453, with the crowd of refugees taken aboard by the Genoese admiral Zorzi Doria. With him were John and perhaps one Leo Kantakouzenos (*Nos. 80, 78*). They were carried first to Chios and thence by the Venetian captain Thomas Celsi to Candia in Crete. From there some made their way to Italy, others made for the Peloponnese, others for Corfu. There is record of a daughter of one Demetrios Kantakouzenos and his wife Simonis Gadelina, called Maria, marrying Theodore, son of Paul Palaiologos, in Corfu in November 1486.[6]

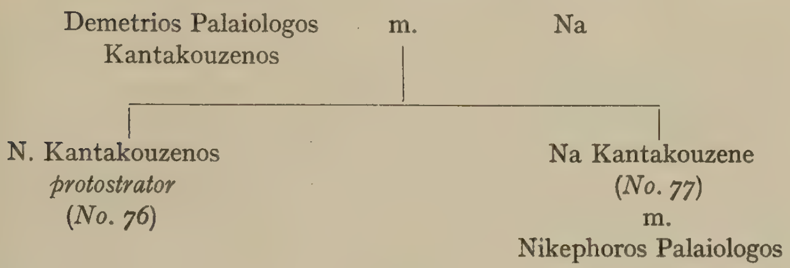
Demetrios had a son (*No. 76*) who held the rank of *protostrator* and a daughter (*No. 77*) who married Nikephoros Palaiologos.[7]

[5] Sphrantzes, *Majus*, pp. 398, 29 f., 425, 35 f. (Grecu); pp. 255, 19 f., 283, 1 f. (*CSHB*). For Theophilos Palaiologos, see Papadopulos, no. 166. Runciman, *Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 92, 218–219, makes Demetrios commander of the line of defense by the sea.

[6] DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 263; Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 141. The list of the refugees appears to exist in three versions: one in the archives of Corfu is (or was) an Italian translation of a Greek original in the archives of Candia. This is published, in Greek, by A. Moustoxides in Ἑλληνομνήμων (1843), pp. 297–299. The others are Italian versions in the archives of Venice and are edited by K. D. Mertzios, Περὶ Παλαιολόγων καὶ ἄλλων εὐγενῶν Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν, Γέρας Ἀ. Κεραμοπούλλου (Athens, 1953), pp. 355–372; *idem.*, Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διαφυγόντων τὸ 1453 Παλαιολόγων καὶ ἀποβιβασθέντων εἰς Κρήτην, *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Ochride, 10–16 Septembre 1961* (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 171–176. The first gives the names of the Kantakouzenoi as Leo and Demetrios; the others refer to "Giovanni e Demetrio Catacuseni con li suoi homini."

[7] Papadopulos, nos. 170 and 173, followed by Verpeaux, *op. cit.*, p. 287, postulates a second daughter who is supposed to have married the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras. But this statement derives from a misreading of the text at the end of John VIII's treaty with Venice in 1448, which indicates that Notaras was a "son-in-law" of John VIII, not of Demetrios Kantakouzenos. Lambros, Συνθήκη, pp. 169, 34–170, 4 (cf. pp. 177–179): . . . τοῦ τε περιποθήτου ἐξαδέλφου τῆς βασιλείας μου κυροῦ Δημητρίου Παλαιολόγου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ καὶ τοῦ περιποθήτου γαμβροῦ αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς βασιλείας μου] κυροῦ Λουκᾶ διερμηνευτοῦ τοῦ Νοταρᾶ. . . . . . .*dilecto consanguineo imperii nostri domino Palaeologo Catacussino et dilecto genero eiusdem domino Luca Notara diarminephti* . . . . Notaras is also described in his correspondence as a son-in-law of the Emperor (*MPG*, CLX, 747 f.), though the term γαμβρός is doubtless

THE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS



No. 76

N. KANTAKOUZENOS, *protostrator* (died 1453)

Son of the *mesazon* Kantakouzenos, who is presumably to be identified with Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 75*). He was among the archons of Constantinople hunted down by the Turks and beheaded five days after the capture of the city in May 1453. The other victims were the Grand Duke, Loukas Notaras, and the Grand Domestic, Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 68*). He is described as "the *protostrator*, son of Kantakouzenos the *mesazon*."[8]

No. 77

Na KANTAKOUZENE (floruit 1450)

Daughter of Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 75*). She married Nikephoros Palaiologos who distinguished himself during the defense of Constantinople in May 1453.[9]

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used in its widest sense. See S. Runciman, "Lucas Notaras, 'Γαμβρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως'," *Polychronion* (*Festschrift F. Dölger*) (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 447–449, who suggests that Notaras was the son-in-law of John VII and not of John VIII. Cf. J. Verpeaux, "Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues," *Travaux et mémoires*, I (Paris, 1965), p. 435 and note 90.

[8] *Ecthesis Chronica*, p. 16, 26–27; *Hist. Polit.*, p. 23, 11–13:...τόν τε μέγαν δούκαν καὶ τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον καὶ τὸν πρωτοστράτορα υἱὸν Καντακουζηνοῦ τοῦ μεσάζοντος. Lambros, in the index to his edition of the *Ecthesis Chronica*, curiously refers to him as "Καντακουζηνὸς, mesazon, filius protostratoris." H.-G. Beck, "Der byzantinische 'Ministerpräsident'," *BZ*, XLVIII (1955), p. 312 note 10, wrongly cites this passage in the *Ecthesis Chronica* for a "Konstantinos Protostrator, ὁ τοῦ μεσάζοντος." Runciman, *Fall of Constantinople*, p. 53, citing (S)Phrantzes, p. 229 (*CSHB*), states that Demetrios Kantakouzenos himself was *protostrator*. This statement seems to rest on Sphrantzes, *Majus*, p. 228, 15–17 (*CSHB*), which refers to Manuel Kantakouzenos the *protostrator* (*No. 63*), who evidently died before 1451.

[9] Sphrantzes, *Majus*, p. 398, 29–30 (Grecu); p. 255, 19–20 (*CSHB*):... τὸν δὲ Δημήτριον τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ Παλαιολόγον Νικηφόρον. Cf. Papadopulos, nos. 170, 172, 173.

No. 78

LEO KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1453)

Leo Kantakouzenos is mentioned in one source as a refugee from Constantinople in May 1453. He and Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No.* 75) are said to have been among those taken on board his vessel by the Genoese admiral Zorzi Doria when the Turks entered the capital on 29 May 1453. Leo's name figures only on one version of the list of passengers, drawn up on the orders of the Venetian captain Thomas Celsi, who carried some of the refugees on from Chios to Crete, the Peloponnese, Corfu, and Italy.[10]

No. 79

MICHAEL KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1454)

In May 1454 the Venetian Baillie of Constantinople, Battista Gritti, wrote a testimonial on behalf of Michael Kantakouzenos, then apparently living in Crete, who had been his loyal servant and a faithful supporter of the interests of Venice. This Michael may be supposed to have been among the refugees to Crete after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, although his name does not appear on any of the known lists of such refugees.[11]

No. 80

JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS PALAIOLOGOS (floruit 1436–1453)

When the Despot Constantine Palaiologos Dragases left the Peloponnese for Constantinople in September 1437 he was accompanied by one John Kantakouzenos, whom Spandounes describes as "Ioanne Cantacusino capitano famosissimo di quella etade." Also with Constantine was George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*), but Spandounes does not specify the relationship between John and George.[12]

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[10] This passenger list was copied on 29 May 1454 (? 1453) by Bartolomeo Floriano and is published by A. Moustoxides in Ἑλληνομνήμων (1843), pp. 297–299. It should be noted, however, that the Italian versions of the list of refugees mention John (not Leo) and Demetrios Kantakouzenos (see *Nos. 80* and 75), and that this is the only known member of the Kantakouzenos family with the name of Leo.

[11] Document of 15 May 1454 published, from the archives of Candia, in Iorga, *Documente*, no. II, p. 2: *Nos Batista Griti, pro Illustrissimo ducali Venetiarum dominio vice-baiulus in Constantinopoli, Pere et in toto imperio Romanie... notum facimus et aperte testamus quemadmodum nobilis Micael Catacoxino, Constantinopolitanus, fuit noster homo bone reputactionis, fame; et erga nos et servicia Nostre Dominationis et subditos semper fuit totaliter promptus, paratus, et favorabilis &c. ....Datum Pere, die XV Maii 1454.* Cf. F. Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne au moyen âge* (Paris, 1959), p. 432 and note 3.

This John Kantakouzenos is first known from a document of 15 May 1436 when, as governor of Patras, he pronounced sentence against a Jew called Solomon, son of Abraham, in that city. He is described as a cousin of the Emperor, John VIII.[13] Again on 6 August 1436 John is found presiding over a court held in the governor's palace at Patras, together with one Theodore Erastopoulos.[14]

Constantine Palaiologos returned to the Peloponnese as Despot in October 1443. John seems to have returned with him and to have been appointed governor of Corinth soon afterward. George Sphrantzes was made governor of Sparta (Mistra) on 1 September 1446, at which time John Kantakouzenos seems already to have held the governorship of Corinth.[15] Cyriacus of Ancona, who had previously met John at Patras in 1443, renewed his acquaintance with him at Corinth when he arrived there from Argos on 17 April 1448. Cyriacus describes their meeting in these words:

> *Cum ad. XV. K.* μαιας *faustum mercuri diem* (17 April 1448) *e spartana arce mysethrea acrocorinthum reuisissem inibi Iohannem* Κατακουζινὸν *magnificum ac regia de stirpe virum nec non pacis bellique artibus praestantem. pro spartano rege Constantino Corintheae prouinciae praesidem comperimus. qui cum me ex patra veterem nouisset amicum perquam benigne suscepit & munifice ex venatu rediens magna cerui parte aliisque haud indignis muneribus donarat. . . .*[16]

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[12] Spandounes, p. 151, 14. Cf. Musachi, *Historia*, p. 328, 4: "Giovanni Catacusino degno capitanio." Filitti, p. 7, assumes that John was a son of Demetrios Kantakouzenos the *sebastokrator* (*No. 50*).

[13] Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, no. 19, p. 218, 6–8: . . .ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ περιποθήτου ἐξαδέλφου τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως κῦρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, II, pp. 43, 110, 127–128, 188.

[14] Document signed by John Kantakouzenos Palaiologos and Theodore Erastopoulos as δοῦλοι of the Despot (Constantine Palaiologos) on 6 August 1436: Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, no. 21, p. 224, 3–6. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, II, pp. 108, 110, 111–112.

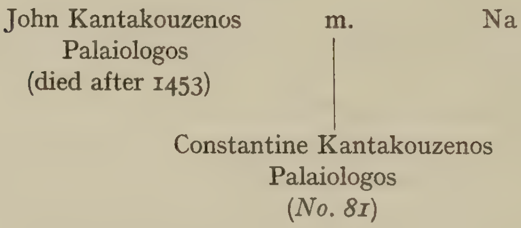
[15] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxvii, 2–4: pp. 68, 30–70, 9 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 342 (Grecu); pp. 200–201 (*CSHB*). Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 213, 217.

[16] Cyriacus of Ancona, ed. Sabbadini, pp. 230–231. E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Collection Latomus, XLIII [Brussels, 1960]), p. 64. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 228, 231; II, pp. 111, 112.

When Constantine Palaiologos succeeded to the throne as Constantine XII in 1449, John went back to Constantinople with him; and in 1451, in company with the Grand Domestic Andronikos Kantakouzenos (*No. 68*), he opposed the projected marriage of Constantine to Maria-Mara Branković, widow of the Sultan Murad II.[17]

John Kantakouzenos was evidently one of the closest friends and confidants of the Emperor Constantine XII right up until the fall of Constantinople in May 1453. But he seems to have been among the refugees lucky enough to escape with their families on the day that the Turks finally broke into the city. His name appears on the list of passengers taken aboard by the Genoese admiral Zorzi Doria on 29 May 1453. He seems to have escaped to Crete but nothing seems to be known of his subsequent fate.[18]

John had at least one son, Constantine Kantakouzenos (*No. 81*).



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[17] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxii, 7: p. 84, 2 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 366, 5 (Grecu); p. 221, 18 (*CSHB*).

[18] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxvi, 11: p. 102, 27 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 474, 6 (Grecu); p. 327, 10–12 (*CSHB*). The Italian versions of the list of refugees from Constantinople mention "Giovanni e Demetrio Catacuseni con li suoi homini." See the documents published by K. D. Mertzios cited under Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 75*). Runciman, *Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 53 and 212, citing (S)Phrantzes, *Majus*, p. 229 f., states that John was made "stratopedarch" by Constantine XII in 1450. There seems no warrant for identifying the *stratopedarches* Kantakouzenos (*No. 65*), son of Manuel Kantakouzenos the *protostrator* (*No. 63*), with John.

No. 81

CONSTANTINE KANTAKOUZENOS PALAIOLOGOS (floruit 1446–1452)

Constantine was the son of John Kantakouzenos Palaiologos (*No. 80*). Like his father he served the Greek Despotate of the Peloponnese in its last years, acting as governor of Vostitza (Aigion) on the Gulf of Corinth. Cyriacus of Ancona met him there in April 1448. He seems to have been a fervent supporter of the Union of Florence and a convert to the Roman Church; for on 22 June 1446 Pope Eugenius IV conferred upon him, as governor of Vostitza, the title of Palatine Count of the Lateran in recognition of his services. As a soldier Constantine distinguished himself in his campaign of 1446 against the Turks in Aitolia and Lokris across the Gulf of Corinth. He liberated several towns in the area of Parnassos and Lokris, among them Loidoriki and the nearby harbor of Euanthia, which was renamed Cantacuzinopolis in token of his triumph.[19]

Constantine was still in the Peloponnese in 1452, and in August he sent one John Spagnolo as his ambassador to King Alfonso V of Naples and Aragon for negotiations of an undisclosed nature. At the end of the letter which Alfonso wrote to him on this occasion Constantine is described as: "Illustri Catacosino Constantino Paleologo Comiti Palatino consanguineo et amico nostro carissimo."[20]

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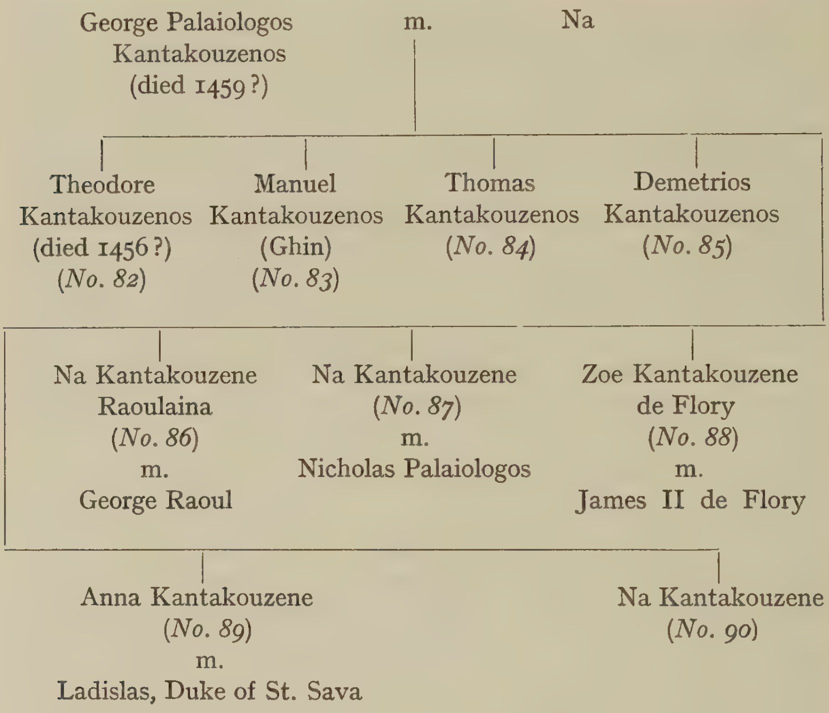
[19] Cyriacus of Ancona, ed. Sabbadini, p. 231: *Cuius* (sc. *Iohannis*) *vero ingenuum ac precl. f. Constant*(*inum*) *C.P.L.* (= *Comitem Palatinum Lateranensem*) *dum aegium oppidum olim achaiae nobile et quod bostichiam vocant praet*(*oria*) *pot*(*estate*) *curaret pernicioso teucrum pannonumque motus tempore. ex peloponeso in aetoliam Locridemve ozoleam ac parnaseam phocidem Locarbesque diu iam a barbaris occupatas liberaturum . . . nonnullas parnaseas dorieasque et Locreas urbes acceptas ipsa in Locride mediterraneam quidem unam Lydoriciam nomine, alteram vero maritimam quam primum Euanthiam dixere nunc vero ab se Catacuzinopolim dictam aliqua ex parte moenibus arceque solertissime restituendas curasse.* Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, p. 418. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 231, 281, and II, pp. 111–112, 115, seems undecided as to whether it was Constantine or his father John who was made Palatine Count. But the letter of Pope Eugenius IV to Constantine (dated 22 June 1446) is extant, ed. G. Hofmann, *Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes* (*Concilium Florentinum, Documenta et Scriptores*, Series A), III (Rome, 1946), no. 285, p. 109.

[20] Letter of King Alfonso of 30 August 1452, ed. Fr. Cerone, "La politica orientale di Alfonso d'Aragona" *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, XXVII (1902), pp. 597–598. Cerone suggests that Constantine was a relative of Manuel Kantakouzenos, leader of the Albanian revolt in the Peloponnese (*No. 83*).

THE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS

Nos. 82–90

The Offspring of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*)


George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (died 1459?)
m.
Na
Theodore Kantakouzenos (died 1456?) (*No. 82*)
Manuel Kantakouzenos (Ghin) (*No. 83*)
Thomas Kantakouzenos (*No. 84*)
Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 85*)
Na Kantakouzene Raoulaina (*No. 86*) m. George Raoul
Na Kantakouzene (*No. 87*) m. Nicholas Palaiologos
Zoe Kantakouzene de Flory (*No. 88*) m. James II de Flory
Anna Kantakouzene (*No. 89*) m. Ladislas, Duke of St. Sava
Na Kantakouzene (*No. 90*)

No. 82

THEODORE KANTAKOUZENOS (died 1456?)

Hugues Busac records that George Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*) had nine children, four boys and five girls; he then proceeds to name the four sons, but only three of the daughters.[1] He designates Theodore as the eldest of George's sons: "Ta agoria choe ta pedia tou quir Gorgui tou Cantacozinou, leomena proton quir Todoro. . . ."[2]

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[1] Hugues Busac, fol. II^r, ed. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 72: "Qui Georguios Cantacozinos adelfos afton ton vasilison epandreftin que (e)came pedia viiii agoria iiii que figateres v."

[2] Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 72.

Theodore is otherwise known only from Spandounes, who relates that at the time of the war between the King of Hungary and the Despot Jurgo (George Branković) of Serbia between 1453 and 1456 the Despot was taken prisoner by the Hungarians together with "Theodoro Cantacusino." Theodore was released on parole from his captivity in Hungary to go to Serbia to raise the sum of 300,000 ducats demanded for their ransom. He failed to do so and returned as a prisoner to Hungary. Such was the barbarity of the Hungarians that, not long afterward, they made use of their prisoner Theodore Kantakouzenos to gain possession of Smederevo which their army was then besieging. The castle was being defended by Theodore's father George Kantakouzenos. The Hungarians brought Theodore within sight of the walls and threatened to kill him unless his father surrendered. But George heroically refused to be intimidated by their threats. Theodore's fate is not told.[3]

No. 83

MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS (GHIN) (floruit 1450–1470)

The second son of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*).[4] In the Albanian revolt against Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos in the Peloponnese following the capture of Constantinople in 1453 the rebels elected as their own Despot and leader one Manuel Kantakouzenos. According to Spandounes he had formerly been governor of Mani and was a brother of George Kantakouzenos Sachatai (*No. 67*). The Albanians are said to have nicknamed him "Gin Cantacusino" and called his wife Maria "Cucchia."[5]

D. A. Zakythenos describes this Manuel as "a direct descendant of John Kantakouzenos, the eldest son of Matthew."[6] This is to say the least doubtful. The evidence of Spandounes that he was a brother of George ("fratello di Georgio nomato Sachatai mio avo materno") is contradicted by that of Hugues Busac, who describes him as: "O quir Manolis o Cantacuzinos igos tu quir Gorgi...despotis is ton Morian que enotisan ton i Arvanyti....Iton adelfos tis condestis tis manas tis iglanbras Carlas." Busac thus believed Manuel to have been the *son* of George and brother of Zoe Kantakouzene (*No. 88*), the mother of Carola, Busac's wife. The balance of probability is that he was in fact the son of George Kantakouzenos, and not his brother as stated by Spandounes.[7]

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[3] Spandounes, p. 155. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 97–98.

[4] Hugues Busac, ed. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 72, 76.

[5] Spandounes, pp. 156, 35–157, 2; Musachi, *Historia*, pp. 295, 331; Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxvii, 1: p. 104 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 522 (Grecu); p. 383 (*CSHB*). Sphrantzes dates this event to the autumn of 1453 and confesses ignorance of its reasons or causes. Cf. Chalk. ii: pp. 169–170 (Darkó); pp. 406–407 (*CSHB*). Zoras, Χρονικόν, p. 94, 21. Lambros-Amantos, *Chron.*, no. 55, p. 118.

[6] Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 247–248, apparently following Musachi and Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 536. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, II, p. 372, proposes that Manuel was a son of Thomas Kantakouzenos (*No. 70*). Cf. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, IV, p. 33.

In December 1453 the Turks sent an army to the Peloponnese to suppress the rebellious Albanians; but the revolt continued under Manuel's leadership. In September 1454 the Venetian senate debated the possibility of negotiating with a certain "Catacusino," presumably Manuel, and other chieftains of the Albanians for the purchase of Corinth and Patras.[8] In October of the same year, however, Turachan Bey arrived with an army in the Peloponnese and restored order in favor of the Despots Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos. Manuel Kantakouzenos, the "pseudodespotes" as Sphrantzes calls him, was chased out.[9]

It seems probable that Manuel made his way to Ragusa after escaping from Greece; for on 10 June 1457 the senate of Ragusa authorized the rector to expel from the city the Greek Kantakouzenos and his suite for provoking disturbances. He had been living in the house of Stefan (Vukčić), Duke of St. Sava (1435–1466), whose son Ladislas (or Vladislav) had recently married Manuel's sister Anna Kantakouzene (*No. 89*).[10]

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[7] Spandounes, p. 156, 36–37; Hugues Busac, fol. IV, p. 98. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 84, 98–99, is inclined on circumstantial grounds to accept the veracity of Busac's statement. Ladislas, Duke of St. Sava, who married Anna Kantakouzene (*No. 89*), addressed Manuel as his brother-in-law. See *infra*, p. 203 note 10.

[8] C. N. Sathas, Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, I (Paris, 1880), no. 151, pp. 225, 22; 228, 7; 229, 15. Cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, III, no. 2981, p. 202.

[9] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxvii, 7: p. 106 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 524 (Grecu); p. 385 (*CSHB*). Cf. Chalk. ii: p. 174 (Darkó); pp. 411–412 (*CSHB*). Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 248–249, 250, 253; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 152. An entry in the short chronicle of Joannicius Cartanus referring to the capture of the Despot Kantakouzenos by the Albanians (!) in 1454 may be intended to mean Manuel. Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 267: Εἰς τοὺς χιλίους τετρακοσίους πενιντατέσσαρους (1454), ἐπίασαν οἱ Ἀλβανίταις τὸν δεσπότην τὸν Κατακουζινόν.

During Muhammad II's campaigns in the Peloponnese in 1458 Manuel seems to have offered his services to the Sultan as an agent or a mediator; but he was suspected of treachery and dismissed. Between the years 1466 and 1469 he appears to have been at least once in Venice and several times in Ragusa acting as the agent or envoy of his brother-in-law Ladislas. He seems to have ended his days in Hungary.[11]

No. 84

THOMAS KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1460)

Hugues Busac mentions "quir Toma" as the third of the four sons of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*).[12] There is no other certain evidence of his existence; but he might be the same as the Thomas Kantakouzenos who, in the autumn of 1468, partnered one John Palaiologos in the acquisition of the revenue of certain mining properties in Serbia.[13]

No. 85

DEMETRIOS KANTAKOUZENOS

Demetrios, or "quir Dimytri," is listed by Hugues Busac as the fourth son of George Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*).[14]

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[10] Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, II, p. 372. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 1359, 1374, pp. 397, 400; cf. p. 133. Ladislas, son of Stefan Vukčić, Duke of St. Sava, married Anna Kantakouzene in 1453–1454. Manuel is described as his brother-in-law, thus establishing the fact that Anna was Manuel's sister. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 1362, p. 397 (of 11 October 1457). I. Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku* (Belgrade, 1952), p. 132 note 9, seems to have misread Manuel's name in the documents as "Nicholas."

[11] Chalk. ii: pp. 205–206 (Darkó); pp. 446–447 (*CSHB*). Spandounes, p. 157, 25–31. Zoras, Χρονικόν, p. 99, 8 and 12. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, p. 258; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, II, p. 372; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 193. DuCange, followed by Filitti, wished to identify this Manuel with Manuel Kantakouzenos the *protostrator* (see *No. 63*).

[12] Hugues Busac, p. 72. The signature of one Thomas Kantakouzenos appears on a manuscript in Paris (Cod. Paris. gr. 1336, fol. 116^{v}); but since he was still alive in 1545 it seems impossible that he could be the son of George. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 100.

[13] Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 537. This cannot be Thomas, the brother of George Kantakouzenos, since he died in 1463. See *No. 70*.

[14] Hugues Busac, pp. 72, 76.

On the evidence available it seems impossible to identify this Demetrios with any of his fifteenth-century homonyms. Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 75*), who was active in affairs of state in Constantinople as early as 1423, would appear to be too old to be a son of George. Demetrios Kantakouzenos, the Serbian writer (*No. 98*), seems to have been the son of *No. 97*. While the Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 100*), who copied a Greek manuscript in London in 1475, is too obscure a figure to be safely identified with anybody.[15]

No. 86

Na KANTAKOUZENE (RAOULAINA) (died before 1460?)

The eldest daughter of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*). She married George Rhallis or Raoul.[16]

Her husband is doubtless that "George Raoul" referred to by Sphrantzes who, with his son-in-law and daughter, fled to Corfu shortly before the fall of the Peloponnese to the Turks in 1460. The Despot of the Peloponnese, Thomas Palaiologos, who also arrived in Corfu with all his family in July 1460, received there a letter from the Sultan Muhammad II proposing an interview to negotiate an amicable settlement. Thomas conferred with his companions and appointed George Raoul as his envoy to the Sultan, at the same time sending George's son-in-law John Raoul to the Pope. George left Corfu in August to go and meet the Sultan in Berroia. But no negotiations ensued, for the Sultan, highly indignant that the Despot had not seen fit to come himself or at least to send one of his sons instead of a mere envoy, clapped George and his company in irons. They were released, however, after a few days, and George arrived back in Corfu in October 1460.

Since mention is made only of George's daughter and son-in-law John, it may be that his wife was already dead by 1460. Alternatively Na Kantakouzene, the daughter of George Kantakouzenos, may have been his second wife.[17]

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[15] Filitti, p. 8, writes of a Demetrios Kantakouzenos, son of Manuel Kantakouzenos (Ghin) (*No. 83*), who fled to Hungary after 1453, and identifies him with the London copyist as well as with the Serbian writer. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 99–100.

[16] Hugues Busac, pp. 72, 75: "I proti epandrepsen me ton Ralin ton quir Gorgui."

Na Kantakouzene m. George Raoul
|
(daughter)
m.
John Raoul

No. 87

Na KANTAKOUZENE

The second daughter of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*). She married Nicholas Palaiologos.[18]

The name Nicholas is, as V. Laurent observed, otherwise unknown in the family of Palaiologos. This fact makes it most probable that the Nicholas Palaiologos in question is the lord of Monemvasia who, in 1463, made over his city to the Venetians when in despair of saving it from the Turks.[19]

No. 88

ZOE KANTAKOUZENE DE FLORY (floruit 1430–1470)

The third daughter of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*). She married James II de Flory, Count of Jaffa, son of Sir

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[17] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxix, 10: p. 114, 25; xl, 13: p. 122, 17f.; xli, 2–5: p. 124 (Grecu); *Majus*, pp. 532, 23; 546, 32; 548, 19f. (Grecu); pp. 408, 18–19; 410, 2f. (*CSHB*). Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 91; Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, p. 287. The text of the *Chronicon Majus* of Sphrantzes is here corrupt and confuses George with John Raoul. Chatzes, *Raoul*, nos. 39–40, 41–42, pp. 48, 49, suspecting some confusion in the text, wished to substitute the name of George for John. But the text of the *Chronicon Minus* makes the matter quite clear.

[18] Hugues Busac, pp. 72, 75: "I ali (epandrepsen me) ton Paleologon ton quir Nycolan."

[19] Spandounes, p. 158, 1–7: "...Malvasia, terra fortissima et inexpugnabile, perchè ivi era dentro uno Nicolo Paleologo che tenea quella in nome del Despoto.... L'altro Nicolao Paleologo havendo poca speranza che li principi Christiani facessono impresa contra Turchi dè in vendita per poca somma di danari la fortissima città di Malvasia al Senato Veneto." Musachi, *Historia*, p. 332. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 92 and note 1. This Nicholas is not listed by Papadopulos.

James de Flory, Auditor of the kingdom of Cyprus ("gubernator regni Cyprii") under King John II of Lusignan (1432–1458).[20]

Zoe's marriage may have been arranged at the time when King John married Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the Despot Theodore II of the Peloponnese, in February 1442.[21] Helena exerted such a demoralizing influence over the court and kingdom of Cyprus that Zoe's husband became "so disgusted with the way in which the control of the Kingdom had fallen into the hands of Greeks and worthless people that he...migrated with all his household to Famagusta."[22]

In the struggle for power in Cyprus after John II's death in 1458 James de Flory, with several other barons, took the side of the legitimate successor Charlotte and her second husband Louis of Savoy. In May 1461 Louis employed him as a messenger to Charlotte who was then in Rhodes. In 1463 he was sent from Cyprus to Constantinople to get help from the Sultan Muhammad II; and there, according to Hugues Busac, the Turks held him as a hostage, demanding a ransom for his release which neither he nor his sovereign could pay. Having heroically refused to deny his Christian faith and save his life by becoming a Muslim, James was taken to Rhodes and murdered by being cut in half before the eyes of the Christians.[23]

According to other sources, however, James's murderer was a Turkish Pasha who had married a sister of Zoe (*No. 91*). She apparently wished James to move to Constantinople and send for his wife and children. James declined the invitation and fell out with the Pasha, who had him sawn in half.[24]

In 1448 John II as king of Cyprus had granted to Zoe the right to remarry after her husband's death; but there seems no evidence of her having exercised this privilege.[25] Zoe was thus left a widow in 1463 with at least three and possibly four children: Carola, Jason, and Hercules; a third son called Manuel, born in October 1447, may have died young. Hugues Busac records that Hercules ended his days as a monk; Jason died in Cyprus; and Carola (or Charlotte) became the wife of Hugues Busac himself. She died in Rome in 1515, having presented her husband with four children.[26]

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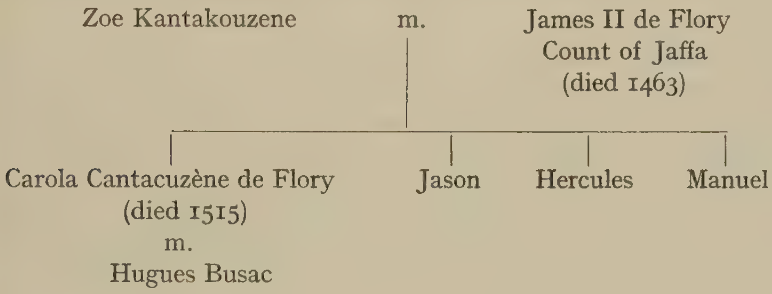
[20] Hugues Busac, pp. 72, 75–76: "Tin alin, tin elegan Zoin Cantacozinyn, estilen is tin Quipron que epandrepsen tin me ton iglanbron conte de Jafe ton myser Jacques de Foris." Cf. Hill, *Cyprus*, III, p. 497.

[21] Hill, *Cyprus*, III, p. 527. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 92 and note 4 (though Helena was the daughter of Theodore II Palaiologos, not of Thomas). James de Flory's first wife died in 1441. Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, pp. 128–129.

[22] Hill, *Cyprus*, III, p. 533.

[23] Hugues Busac, pp. 73, 77.

[24] Hill, *Cyprus*, III, pp. 562, 580 and note 4. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 92. Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, p. 130.



No. 89

ANNA KANTAKOUZENE, Duchess of St. Sava (floruit 1450–1480)

One of the five daughters of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*). She became the wife of Ladislas or Vladislav, Duke of St. Sava in Bosnia. Spandounes describes her as "una sorella de mio avo," a sister of his grandfather George Kantakouzenos. Since Anna with her husband and children stayed in the Spandounes house in Venice after being ejected from Bosnia in 1463, this account might be accepted as accurate were it not for other more nearly contemporary evidence indicating that Anna belonged to the next generation. V. Laurent accepts the statement of Spandounes, designating Anna as "la cinquième soeur de Georges," although Hugues Busac names only three sisters of George: Eirene the wife of George Branković and two others who married the Emperor of Trebizond and the King of Iberia (Georgia) respectively.[27]

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[25] Document of 22 October 1448, in Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, no. VIII, pp. 151–152, where she is called "Zoy Catacouziny."

[26] For the fortunes of Zoe's offspring and their descendants, which lie outside the scope of this work, see Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, especially pp. 92–96, and Filitti, p. 9.

Stefan Vukčić, Duke of St. Sava from 1435–1466, had three wives and five children, three of them male, of whom Ladislas was the eldest. He was born about 1425 and married Anna Kantakouzene in 1453 or 1454. He sent Anna with his son Balša and his niece Mara to reside in Ragusa; but when Muhammad II invaded Bosnia in 1463 Ladislas fled with Anna to Hungary, where he seems to have died in 1489.[28]

In a letter dated 5 April 1455 King Alfonso of Naples and Aragon congratulates Duke Stefan Vukčić on the fact that two of his sons are married: one to the niece of the wife of the Despot of Serbia, Eirene Kantakouzene Branković, the other to the sister of the Count of Cilly.[29] This evidence conflicts with the statement of Spandounes that Anna was the "sister" of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos and so also of Eirene Kantakouzene Branković. But King Alfonso of Naples is a more reliable witness than Theodore Spandounes; and the identification of Anna as a daughter rather than a sister of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos seems to be confirmed by the fact that her husband Ladislas addresses Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 83*), a son of George, as his brother-in-law.[30]

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[27] Hugues Busac, pp. 71, 75, who enumerates five daughters of George Kantakouzenos but names only three. Spandounes, p. 162, 7–21: "Mehemeth deliberò poi occupare il ducato et regno di Bossina nel quale era un duca de S. Saba, chiamato da vulgari paesani el Cerzecho (Herzog), che confina con Ragusei, et era loro emulo; el primogenito loro era chiamato Ladislao che havea per moglie una sorella de mio avo nomata Anna." The Duke was old and lived with a mistress, which shocked his son Ladislas and his daughter-in-law Anna. He told them to mind their own business; but Ladislas rebelled and evicted his father. The old Duke, in high indignation, went to the Sultan Muhammad for help, giving him his younger son as a hostage. This son was made a Muslim by Muhammad and was later created a Pasha with the name of Sinan Herzegoglou ("Sinan bassà Cherzecogli"; cf. *ibidem*, p. 170, 37–38: "...bassà Cherzegogli qual fu figliuolo del duca di Santo Saba et beglierbei della Natalia"). "Et venendo Mehemeth intrò nel ducato de Bossina, che 'l duca vecchio era già morto; et Ladislao non volse aspettarlo ma se ne fuggì, et venne a Venetia con la moglie et figlioli, et stette a casa nostra alcuni giorni, et deli passò in Ungheria, ove morse." Musachi, *Historia*, p. 333, calls her "Anna Catacusina." Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 91.

[28] Anna is variously called Kyra Anna, Chieranna, Chierine, Chiurana, or even Charava in the sources. See Thalloczy, *Studien*, pp. 168 f., 172 and note 1, 178–179, 216, 233–234. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, I, pp. 382, 392–398. Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 271, 277.

[29] The text of this letter is cited by Thalloczy, *Studien*, p. 178 note 1: *Duosque ex filiis vestris matrimonio locasse, unum scilicet cum nepte illustrissimi uxoris despoti Cervie* (Kyra Anna) *alterum verum cum sorore spectabilis et magnifici comitis Silie* (Cilli). Thalloczy thus rightly designated Anna as "die Nichte der Irene Kantakuzene, der Frau des Despoten Georg Branković." Cf. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, II, p. 372.

Anna Kantakouzene m. Ladislas
Duke of St. Sava
(died 1489)

Balša

No. 90

Na KANTAKOUZENE

The fifth of the five daughters of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*) mentioned but not named by Hugues Busac. She was perhaps the mother of Eudokia Kantakouzene and the grandmother of the historian Theodore Spandounes.[31]

No. 91

Na KANTAKOUZENE (floruit 1463)

Supposedly a sister of Zoe Kantakouzene de Flory (*No. 88*), the wife of a Pasha in Constantinople in the 1460's. She is said to have tried to persuade Zoe's husband, James II de Flory, Count of Jaffa, to bring his family to Constantinople in 1463. When he refused, her husband the Pasha had him brutally murdered. This version of events is retailed by the Cypriote historians George Boustronios and Stephen of Lusignan and by the Venetian chronicler Loredano.[32]

Hugues Busac, however, who was the son-in-law of Zoe and might have been expected to know the details of the story and the members of the family involved, gives a different version and makes no mention of a sister of Zoe as the wife of a Pasha. It has therefore been suggested that the other chroniclers have confused her with a younger relative of Zoe called Maria, a daughter of Zoe's cousin Lazar of Serbia (*No. 96*) who, according to one account, was compelled to become the courtesan or the wife of a Pasha after the murder of her husband Stefan Tomasević of Bosnia in 1474.[33]

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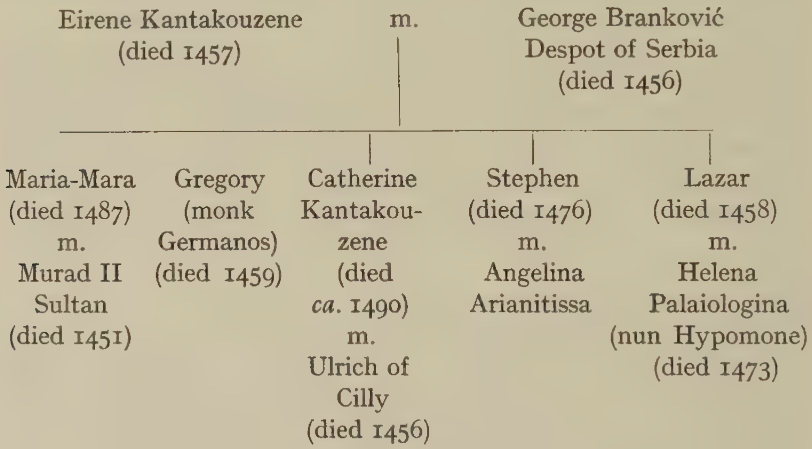
[30] Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 1362, p. 397 (letter of Ladislas concerning Manuel, dated 11 October 1457).

[31] See *infra, No. 102.*

[32] *The Chronicle of George Boustronious, 1456–1480*, trans. R. M. Dawkins (Melbourne, 1964), § 86, p. 30. Etienne de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre* (Paris, 1580), f. 177 b. Loredano, *Historie de' rè Lusignani, pubblicate da Henrico Giblet Cavalier* (ed. Paris, 1732), II, p. 278. Cf. Hill, *Cyprus*, III, p. 589 and note 4; Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 97.

Nos. 92–96

THE OFFSPRING OF GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ AND EIRENE KANTAKOUZENE (*No. 71*)


Eirene Kantakouzene (died 1457)
m.
George Branković Despot of Serbia (died 1456)
Maria-Mara (died 1487) m. Murad II Sultan (died 1451)
Gregory (monk Germanos) (died 1459)
Catherine Kantakouzene (died *ca.* 1490) m. Ulrich of Cilly (died 1456)
Stephen (died 1476) m. Angelina Arianitissa
Lazar (died 1458) m. Helena Palaiologina (nun Hypomone) (died 1473)

No. 92

MARIA-MARA BRANKOVIČ (died 1487)

Maria or Mara was a daughter of the first marriage of George Branković, Despot of Serbia (1427–1456), to a sister of the Emperor John IV of Trebizond. She was thus only a step-daughter of George's second wife Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*) and not a member of the family of Kantakouzenos. But her fortunes were so closely connected with the family that it seems desirable to include some account of her career.[1]

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[33] Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 87, 97.

[1] For general accounts of Maria-Mara, see St. Novaković, *Carica Mara, Balkanska pitanja* (Belgrade, 1906), pp. 191–230; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 408–410; II, pp. 371–373; Babinger, *Freibrief*, pp. 11–20; *Encikloped.*

She was given in marriage to the Sultan Murad II. The marriage was arranged in June 1433 and took place at Adrianople on 4 September 1435. Maria was escorted from Serbia by two of her brothers and by the Sultan's own ambassador.[2] She produced no children, and when Murad died at Adrianople in February 1451 she returned, with the permission of her stepson Muhammad II, to her father and step-mother in Serbia. It was here that Manuel Palaiologos sought her as a suitable bride for the Emperor Constantine XII. The idea was favorably received by George Branković and his wife; but it foundered on the objections of Maria herself, who had vowed that if God ever released her from the hands of the infidel she would live a life of celibacy and chastity for evermore.[3]

Jugoslav., II, p. 184, no. 10. Cf. DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 337. Sphrantzes, *Majus*, p. 358, 14 (Grecu); p. 214, 14 (*CSHB*), claims that she was fifty years old in 1451. This statement may be open to question, but it would be impossible if she were a daughter of Eirene Kantakouzene, since Eirene did not marry George Branković until 1414. At all events Maria is never referred to as "Kantakouzene." See I. A. Papadrianos, Τίνες οἱ δεσμοὶ συγγενείας τοῦ Γεωργίου Βράνκοβιτζ (Branković) πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τῶν Παλαιολόγων, *EEBS*, XXIII (1964), pp. 140–142.

[2] Doukas xxx, 3: pp. 259–260 (Grecu); p. 207 (*CSHB*). For the date of her marriage, see Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 545, p. 201; no. 573, p. 204; no. 639, pp. 227–228; no. 1146, p. 292. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 359 note 29; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 27; Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, I, p. 316. Hugues Busac, p. 71: "Ecamen afti i vasilisa (Eirene Kantakouzene) v pedia, iii arsinica que ii cores. Tin protin elegan Maron, tin pian epiren o megas torcos stanyo tis; que epandreftin ti(n) o papos tou Giem soldan, apu iton is tin Romin." The "grandfather of Djem" (Čelebi, on whom cf. *Ecthesis Chronica*, pp. 39, 40, 41; Spandounes, pp. 170, 171) is the Sultan Murad II. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 88. Spandounes, p. 152, 40–41: "Lo imperator Amurath prese per moglie la figliola di Jurgo Dispoto di Servia nomata Maria, della quale non hebbe figlioli." Cf. Spandounes, p. 158, 12–13, 15: "...de Maria non rimasse figlioli."

[3] Sphrantzes, *Majus*, p. 358, 4 and 10 (Grecu); p. 214, 1–2 and 12 (*CSHB*), describes Maria as the "amerissa," niece of John IV of Trebizond (ἡ ἀμήρισσα ἡ τούτου ἐξαδέλφη), as a "relative" (συγγενής) of Constantine XII Palaiologos, and as being then "fifty years of age" (p. 358, 14: πεντηκονταετὴς οὖσα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ); cf. Sphrantzes, *Minus*, p. 78, 28–29: τῆς ἐξαδέλφης αὐτοῦ (John IV) τῆς ἀμηρίσσας. Chalk. ii: p. 143, 1–3 (Darkó); p. 376, 16 (*CSHB*). On her proposed marriage to Constantine, see the full accounts in Thalloczy, *Studien*, pp. 124–125; Papadrianos, *Marriage-arrangement*, pp. 131–138. Marino Gondola, ambassador of Ragusa to Stefan Tomas, king of Bosnia, wrote home on 13 September 1453: "Ancora habiamo como el Signor Despot ha affedata la soa figliola, quella che fo maritata in grande Turcho, cum Pan Isera lo qual Pan Isera e venuto ad aiuto et succorso del Signor Despot." This document is cited by Thalloczy, *Studien*, p. 124, who comments (p. 125): "Wahrscheinlich ist auch der Antrag Pan Isera's von welchem der Gesandte von Ragusa als einer schon erfolgten Verlobung Nachricht erhielt, an diesem Entschlusse der Sultana Mara gescheitert."

Her father died on 24 December 1456. Her stepmother Eirene Kantakouzene died on 2–3 May 1457, possibly poisoned by her son Lazar; and Maria fled from Serbia the same night, together with her blind brother Gregory and her uncle Thomas Kantakouzenos (*No. 70*), leaving in Serbia only her step-brothers Lazar the Despot and Stephen. She settled first at Adrianople and then, at some unknown date, near Serres.[4]

Thereafter Maria lived under the protection of her stepson the Sultan Muhammad II, by whom she was greatly respected and over whom she was able to exercise no small diplomatic influence. Evidence of her special relationship with the Sultan is shown by the permit which he issued and signed on her behalf at Adrianople in March 1459 confirming her in full possession of the monastery of St. Sophia in Thessalonike. In this document the Sultan calls her "my mother Despina-Khatun."[5] Her influence in high places is also revealed by the part that she played in securing the deposition of the Patriarch of Constantinople Mark Xylokarabes and the appointment in his stead of her own father confessor Dionysios, Metropolitan of Philippopolis, in 1466. The transaction cost her, or the hopeful Patriarch, the sum of 2000 florins.[6]

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[4] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxvii, 14: p. 108 (Grecu). Kritoboulos ii, 20. 7–8: p. 207 (Grecu), relates that Maria fled with her (step)mother and blind brother Gregory to escape her brother Lazar's tyranny. Lazar pursued and arrested them all, but Maria and Gregory contrived to get away. *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, pp. 96, 105; ed. Bogdan, p. 523; Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 719, p. 241, relate that Maria fled with Gregory to Muhammad "at the Porte" on the day of Eirene's death. Cf. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, p. 449 note 1; Babinger, *Freibrief*, p. 13; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 174. In November 1457 Maria and Gregory sent messengers from Adrianople to Ragusa to give warning of the Sultan's hostile intentions. Document of 14 November 1457, in *Acta et Diplomata Ragusina*, ed. J. Radonić, I, 2 (*Zbornik*, class III [Belgrade, 1934]), no. CCLXVII, pp. 603–605.

[5] Babinger, *Freibrief*, pp. 11–20. Cf. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, I, pp. 408–409. Doukas xxxiii, 11: p. 287, 30 (Grecu); p. 231 (*CSHB*), describes her as χριστιανικωτάτην οὖσαν.

[6] See the curious account of this affair in the *Ecthesis Chronica*, pp. 29, 13–30, 2 (*Hist. Polit.*, pp. 40, 15–41, 3), where Maria is referred to as: ... τῆς κυρᾶς τῆς Μάρως, μητρυιᾶς οὔσης τοῦ αὐθεντός. The document of the deposition of the Patriarch Xylokarabes is edited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Μάρκος Ξυλοκαράβης, πατριάρχης οἰκουμενικὸς καὶ εἶτα πρόεδρος 'Αχριδῶν, *VV*, X (1903), pp. 402–415; L. Petit, "Déposition du Patriarche Marc Xylocaravi (15 Janvier 1467)," *ROC*, VIII (1903), pp. 144–149. For Maria's influence with the Sultan in general, see Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 86–87, 200–201, 346, 358, 413, 610.

The Venetians tried on more than one occasion to use Maria's good offices to effect a settlement of their own disputes with the Sultan.[7] In the years 1461 and 1462 Maria was actively engaged in correspondence and negotiations, through her agent Novak Gojunović, with the government of Ragusa in her capacity as chief executrix of the estate of the late Metropolitan of Belgrade, Gregory, who had deposited his property in Ragusa.[8]

She settled finally at Ezova or Ježevo, now called Daphni, to the south of Serres and not far from Mount Athos. There she was joined by her step-sister Catherine Kantakouzene (*No. 94*) and her niece Maria, daughter of Lazar (*No. 96*). In April 1479 she is known to have endowed the monasteries of Chilandari and St. Paul on Athos with annual incomes of 1000 ducats from her revenues in Ragusa.[9] She died at Ježevo on 14 September 1487 and was buried in the monastery of the Theotokos τῆς Εἰκοσιφοινίσσης at Kosinica near Drama, where her friend and confessor Dionysios had retired after abdicating his patriarchal throne.[10]

No. 93

GREGORY BRANKOVIĆ (died 1459)

Gregory was the eldest of the three sons of George Branković. In the portraits of the family which adorn Branković's chrysobull for the monastery of Esphigmenou on Mount Athos, dated 11

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[7] Spandounes, p. 165, 39 f.

[8] Documents from the archives of Ragusa, edited by M. J. Dinić, "Poklad beogradskog mitropolita Grigorija iz XV veka," *Zbornik za Istoriju Južne Srbije i susednih oblasti*, I (Skoplje, 1936), pp. 27–34. Maria is here referred to as "Mara Imperatrix." Also involved in the affair were Stefan Vukčić, Duke of St. Sava, Maria's brother the Despot Stephen, and "Jagno filio Cathacusini," who is presumably the lord of Novo Brdo referred to in Ragusan documents of the same years (see *No. 99*).

[9] Miklosich, *Mon. Serb.*, no. 445; L. Petit and P. Korablev, *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 85. Cf. Dölger, *Schatzk.*, no. 128, pp. 341–342; Thalloczy, *Bruchstücke*, p. 352.

[10] *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, pp. 98–99; ed. Bogdan, p. 525, give the date of her death as *annus mundi* 6996, 28 September. Cf. Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 35, p. 43; no. 802, p. 255; no. 1238, p. 297; no. 1243, p. 298; Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, I, no. 347, p. 110; *Bulgarski Starini*, p. 150. *Ecthesis Chronica*, p. 31, 14; *Hist. Polit.*, p. 41, 14. Cf. Babinger, *Freibrief*, p. 13; Lemerle, *Philippes*, pp. 255–256. Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 201, conjectures that Maria was about seventy years of age when she died.

September 1429, Gregory is represented standing on the right hand of his father in the upper row of figures (fig. 11); the other members of the group are Branković's wife, Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*), and his elder daughter Maria-Mara (*No. 92*). This fact clearly indicates the seniority of Gregory over his two younger brothers, and may suggest that, like Maria-Mara, he was the child of his father's first marriage and thus not directly connected with the family of Kantakouzenos.[11] George Branković regularly refers in his official documents to his three sons Gregory, Stephen, and Lazar in that order, thereby confirming the primogeniture of Gregory.[12] Theodore Spandounes and Hugues Busac are therefore mistaken in naming Gregory's brother Stephen as the first and Gregory as the second of the three sons of Branković. Giovanni Musachi is for once correct in saying that he was the eldest.[13]

Gregory assisted his uncle Thomas Kantakouzenos (*No. 70*) in the defense of Smederevo against the army of the Sultan Murad II in August 1439 and eventually surrendered with him to the Sultan. He was then taken to join his brother Stephen at Adrianople and subsequently to Amaseia in Asia Minor, where both brothers were blinded on 8 May 1441. Spandounes relates that Stephen was fifteen and Gregory sixteen years old at the time and concocts the melodramatic tale that they were both on a visit to their sister (Maria-Mara) at Adrianople and that Murad was moved to put out their eyes at supper because they had outclassed him on the hunting-field.[14]

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[11] Spandounes, p. 152, 41–42, gives the ages of Stephen and Gregory as fifteen and sixteen respectively in the year 1441: "...Stephano et Jurgo, uno de anni XV, l'altro di XVI...." Spandounes here contradicts himself; but if the information were correct it would imply that Gregory was a son of Eirene Kantakouzene, having been born in 1425, eleven years after her marriage to George Branković.

[12] See, e.g., Branković's documents of September 1445 in Novaković, *Zak. Spom.*, pp. 89–90, and his chrysobull for the Great Lavra on Athos of February 1452, in Novaković, *Zak. Spom.*, p. 503. Cf. Miklosich, *Mon. Serb.*, nos. CCCL, CCCLI, pp. 433–437, 437–438; Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, no. 636, p. 13; Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, I, no. 291, pp. 91–92; no. 299, p. 93. The Latin translation of the *Branković Chronicle* lists the sons of George Branković as follows: *Georgius genuit tres filios et filias duas 1. Gregorium, 2. Stephanum, 3. Lazarum.* Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 1136, p. 291; cf. nos. 545, 639, pp. 201, 227. For the portrait of Gregory in the Esphigmenou chrysobull, see Popović-Smirnov, *Miniatura*, p. 101; V. J. Djurić, "Portreti na poveljama vizantijskih i srpskih vladara," *Zbornik filosofskog fakulteta*, VII (Belgrade, 1963), pl. 15.

[13] Spandounes, p. 158, 16–19: "il primo fu il Despoto Stefano, el secondo fu il Despoto Curgur...il terzo fu Lazaro Despoto..."; p. 158, 37: "Stefano, che fu il primogenito..."; p. 158, 43–44: "L'altro che era secondogenito che si chiamava Gurgur...." Hugues Busac, pp. 71, 75, also lists the sons of George Branković in this order; and Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 86, takes Stephen to be the eldest. But cf. Musachi, *Historia*, p. 332: "...il primo il Despoto Jurguro, il secondo il Despoto Stefano. .., il terzo...Lazaro Despoto."

Spandounes goes on to say that Murad then sent them back to their father, which seems to be correct. For Gregory and Stephen are both later found in Serbia; and when their mother died in May 1457 Gregory fled with his then widowed sister Maria from Smederevo. He was pursued and apprehended by his brother Lazar, but escaped and made his way to the Sultan Muhammad II. In March 1458 he accompanied the army of Mehmed Pasha from Adrianople to Smederevo, but when the siege of Smederevo was abandoned Gregory seems to have lost hope. He became a monk with the name of Germanos, or German, and ended his days in the monastery of Chilandari on Mount Athos on 16–17 October 1459.[15]

He appears to have had at least one son, Vuk, who ruled as Despot in Hungary and died in 1485.[16]

Gregory Branković
(monk Germanos)
(died 1459)
|
Vuk Branković
Despot
(died 1485)

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[14] Doukas xxx, 4: pp. 261, 32, 263, 3–7 (Grecu); p. 209 (*CSHB*). *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 95; ed. Bogdan, p. 522. Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 660, 666, 1155, pp. 232, 293. Spandounes, p. 152, 40–153, 2. Cf. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 362–363, 365; Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 28–29.

[15] *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, pp. 92, 105; Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 719, p. 241; cf. nos. 34, 139, 574, 640, 737, 1203, 1238, pp. 43, 101, 204, 228, 244–245, 295 297. Two of the Serbian chronicles give his monastic name as Gerasim instead of German or Germanos. Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 94, 181, pp. 55, 111. Spandounes, p. 158, 44, seems to be alone in saying that Gregory died in Hungary without legitimate offspring. Cf. Babinger, *Freibrief*, pp. 13–14; Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 189–190, 200; Jireček–Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 387, 389; *Encikloped. Jugoslav.*, II, p. 183, no. 4; Inalcik, *Mehmed*, pp. 419–420.

[16] Vuk Branković was Despot in Hungary under Matthew Corvinus and died on 16 April 1485. Thalloczy, *Bruchstücke*, pp. 342, 353; Thalloczy, *Studien*, p. 123; *Encikloped. Jugoslav.*, II, p. 184, no. 13.

No. 94

CATHERINE (KATARINA) KANTAKOUZENE, Countess of Cilly (died *ca.* 1490)

Catherine was the daughter of Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*) and George Branković. She may have been the eldest of the children of their marriage. The portrait of the family in the manuscript in Esphigmenou monastery shows her standing between her evidently younger brothers Stephen and Lazar (figs. 13 and 14). She is designated simply as "Katakouzena."[17]

Spandounes confirms that her Christian name was Catherine. She married Ulrich II, Count of Cilly (Celje), on 20 April 1434, when he was twenty-eight years of age. Aeneas Sylvius, the future Pope Pius II, speaks well of her beauty and honorable character, while disapproving of the errors of her Orthodox faith to which apparently she adhered after her marriage. Her husband's conduct, by the same account, was not quite so respectable.[18]

Ulrich was extremely well connected, being a nephew of the Emperor Frederick III and also of Barbara, wife of King Sigismund of Hungary. His County of Cilly, created for his grandfather by the Emperor Charles V in 1362, lay in southern Styria and included estates on both sides of the Save. But Ulrich was assassinated at Belgrade on 9 November 1456 by his rival Ladislas, son of John Hunyadi; and numerous claimants at once appeared to dispute the title to his castles and lands. Catherine, whose two sons had already died in childhood, was left to fight it out on her own. She formed a defensive league under command of Vitovec, Ulrich's vice-ban in his Slavonic territories. But when her protector Ladislas Postumus of Hungary died in November 1457 Catherine had to come to terms with the Emperor Frederick. Frederick took over all the Cilly properties in Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia, leaving Catherine with the lands in Hungary and Croatia; and in 1460 Vitovec, who had taken service under Frederick, obtained all but one of Catherine's castles, paying her compensation for the rest. She then moved with her property to Ragusa, where she was joined by her brother Stephen Branković.[19]

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[17] Not "Kantakouzena," as Popović-Smirnov, *Miniatura*, p. 107. Cf. Radojčić, *Portreti*, p. 72.

[18] Ulrich is the "Olihoun" of Hugues Busac, p. 71. Spandounes, p. 158, 13–14: "...Catherina, era maritata ad uno fratello (*sic*) dello imperador Federico di casa d'Austria, conte de Cil." Musachi, *Historia*, p. 332, omits to mention her name and makes her the wife of the Emperor himself. Cf. Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli Annali di Rausa* (Venice, 1605), p. 92: "Giorgio Despot di Servia haveva maritata nel 1433 Marra sua figliola à Murat Rè de' Turchi, e Caterina ad Ulrico Conte di Cilia parente del Rè d'Ungaria. . . ." For the date of her marriage see Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 649, p. 230. Aeneas Sylvius, *Die Geschichte Kaiser Friedrich's III von Aeneas Silvius*, trans. by Th. Igen (*Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, XV, ii), I, p. 266. The Serbian Annals call her "Katakouzena" and "Katelina": Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 32, 639, 1136, 1238, pp. 42, 227–228, 291, 297. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 88; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 30; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 359 and note 29, where the date of her marriage is given as 1433.

Catherine and Stephen seem to have pooled their meagre resources and purchased from Leonard, Count of Görz (Gorizia), the castle and estate of Belgrado in Friuli, near the Austrian-Italian border town of Cormon. A correspondence exists between the numerous parties interested in the sale and resale of this property; they include Catherine herself, the Sultan Muhammad II, Count Leonard of Görz to whose family it belonged, and Angelina Arianitissa, the widow of Stephen Branković. Stephen died in 1476; but by that time Catherine seems already to have accepted her half-sister Maria-Mara's invitation to settle with her at Ježevo in Macedonia. The Serbian Annals report that in 1475–1476 Catherine's niece Maria, daughter of the late Lazar Branković (*No. 96*) and widow of Stefan Tomasević of Bosnia, who was then living at Constantinople, accused her aunt Catherine before the Sultan. Catherine is said to have been ill-treated if not tortured by the Turks as a result. Whatever the charge against her, however, she appears to have satisfied the Sultan of her innocence. For a few years later, in Feruary 1480, she was evidently restored to favor. Out of the wreck of her fortunes she still possessed the castle of Belgrado in Friuli; and in 1479 she resolved to sell it back to Leonard of Görz for 5400 Venetian gold ducats. The Sultan Muhammad got to hear of her dealings with

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[19] On the family and County of Cilly (Celje), see A. H. Wratislaw, "History of the County of Cilly," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, V (London, 1877), pp. 327–338; F. Clément-Simon, "Une grande famille en Europe centrale au XV^{e} siècle, les Comtes de Cilli," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, LIV (1930), pp. 1–19; Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, I, p. 325 note 1 (bibliography). Cf. Thalloczy, *Bruchstücke*, pp. 334–335; M. Purković, *Kceri Kneza Lazara* (Melbourne, 1959), pp. 42–49; M. Kos, article "Celjski Grofovi," *Encikloped. Jugoslav.*, II (1956), pp. 349–351.

Leonard and on 5 February 1480 wrote an eloquent letter in German to the Count from Constantinople. The Count, however, was not prepared to offer Catherine more than 2500 ducats owing to the by then dilapidated nature of the property. The negotiations dragged on for several years. The young Theodore Spandounes, who had been entrusted to the care of his great-aunts Catherine and Maria, played a part as Catherine's envoy to Venice; and in the end, in December 1488, Catherine made over the castle of Belgrado to Theodore's father Matthew Spandounes and his heirs "out of love for her niece Eudokia," Theodore's mother.[20]

Catherine and her half-sister Maria also used their influence with the Sultan to try to negotiate a settlement between the Turks and Venetians. About 1469 Catherine wrote to the Council in Venice offering to buy back from the Turks the tunic of Christ and other relics then in their hands, and suggesting that Maria might enter into diplomatic discussions with her stepson the Sultan. The Venetians professed great interest but nothing came of the plan. Again, in October 1470, Catherine and Maria from their Macedonian exile acted as intermediaries between the two great powers and sent messengers of their own to Venice.[21]

Catherine died about 1490 and was buried at Konča near Strumica in Macedonia. Her two sons died young; but her daughter became first wife of Matthew Corvinus of Hungary.[22]

A bishop's mitre covered in silk embroidered with gold thread and bearing an inscription worked in pearls was presented to the metropolitan church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Belgrade by Catherine (fig. 15). It subsequently found its way to the monastery of Krušedol. The lower line of the inscription round the mitre reads: "Sie mitro stvori gpga katakouzna mitopli belgradskoj." It seems possible that Catherine presented it to her nephew George, son of Stephen Branković (*No. 95*), who as Maxim became Metropolitan of Belgrade.[23]

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[20] Thalloczy, *Bruchstücke*, pp. 344–352; Spandounes, ed. Sathas, Preface, pp. xiii-xiv; p. xiv note 1: *Instrumentum quo Catherina comitissa Cillii, degens nunc in partibus Turcarum, donat Mathaeo Spandonino equiti et comiti palatino*, ob amorem nepotis sue, *uxoris dicti Mathaei, castrum Bellogradi. Constantinopoli, 9 Dec. 1488.* Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, I, pp. 409–410. For the accusations of Maria against her aunt, see Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 774, 1226, 1238, pp. 251, 296, 297; cf. Radojicić, *Dem. Cantac.*, p. 80 and note 1.

[21] Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 330, 346.

[22] Spandounes, p. 158, 15–16. Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 35, p. 43; no. 1238, p. 298. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 88. *Enciklop̃ed. Jugoslav.*, II, pp. 183–184, no. 8.

Catherine Kantakouzene (died *ca.* 1490) m. Ulrich Count of Cilly (died 1456)

Elizabeth
of Cilly
m.
Matthew I Corvinus Hunyadi
of Hungary
(died 1490)

No. 95

STEPHEN BRANKOVIĆ (KANTAKOUZENOS) (died 1476)

The second of the three sons of George Branković and most probably a child of Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*), George's second wife.

At the time of the capture of Smederevo by the Sultan Murad II in August 1439 Stephen was apparently in Adrianople with his sister Maria-Mara, Murad's wife. Subsequently he was taken with his brother Gregory, who had been captured at Smederevo, to Amaseia in Asia Minor and there blinded on 8 May 1441. At that time he was fifteen years old, if Spandounes is to be believed.[24]

Stephen returned to Serbia, however, and stayed in Smederevo when his brother Lazar seized power in December 1456 following the death of George Branković, although his brother Gregory and his sister Maria-Mara took to flight.[25] When Lazar died in January

[23] L. Mirković, *Crkveni umetničniki vez* (Muzej Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve, Posebna Izdana, I [Belgrade, 1940]), no. VII, 1, p. 36; pl. XVII, 2. Cf. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, I, no. 288, p. 91; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 433.

[24] For the fact that Stephen was the second and not the first son of George Branković, despite the testimony of Spandounes and Hugues Busac, see under Gregory Branković, *No. 93*. Doukas xxx, 4: p. 263, 3–7 (Grecu); p. 209 (*CSHB*). Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 660, 666, p. 232; no. 1155, p. 293. Spandounes, pp. 152, 40–153, 2. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 365.

[25] Kritoboulos ii, 20.10: p. 207, 31 (Grecu): Στέφανος δὲ αὐτοῦ μένων ἡσύχαζε. If this means that he "became a monk" it is a confusion with his brother

1458 Stephen thus came into the *damnosa haereditas* of Smederevo as Despot of Serbia with Lazar's widow Helena Palaiologina. But in April 1459 he was dispossessed by Stefan Tomasević of Bosnia, who had married his niece Maria, and fled to Hungary.[26]

Later he found his way to join his sister Catherine (*No. 94*) in Croatia and thence to Ragusa; and there he married Angelina, daughter of a local nobleman called George Komnenos Arianites (or Golem), a sister-in-law of the Albanian hero Skanderbeg.[27] He lived for a while under Skanderbeg's protection before taking refuge with his wife's relatives in Apulia. Later he partnered his sister Catherine in the purchase of the castle of Belgrado in Friuli from the Count of Görz, and seems to have lived there with her so long as their straitened circumstances permitted. Latterly Stephen lived under Venetian protection. He died on 9 October 1476, having committed his two sons George and Jovan and his daughter Mara to the care of Venice.[28]

His widow Angelina Arianitissa fled to Vienna and then sought the help of the Emperor Frederick III. Frederick was sympathetic and made over to her and her sons the castle of Weittersfeld. She ended her days in Germany. Her eldest son George (Stefanović Branković), who held the title of Despot from 1486 to about 1497, became a monk with the name of Maxim and was created Metropolitan of Belgrade. He died on 18 January 1516. Her second son Jovan, titular Despot of Serbia from 1493–1502, married Jelena, daughter of Stefan Jakšić, and died on 10 December 1503. Her daughter Mara married Boniface V, Marquis of Montferrat, in 1485; he died in 1493.[29]

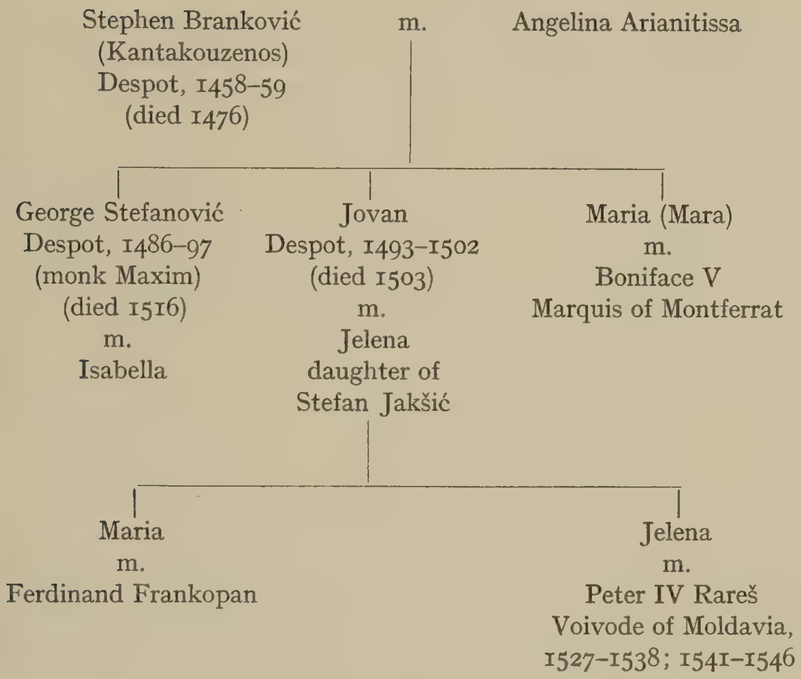
Gregory (*No. 93*). The English translator of Kritoboulos renders the passage thus: "...while Stephen stayed there but was quiet." *History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritovoulos*, trans. by C. T. Riggs (Princeton, N. J., 1954), p. 117, c. 116.

[26] Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 733, 734, p. 244. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 385–389; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 199; Inalcik, *Mehmed*, p. 421.

[27] Skanderbeg married Andronike, daughter of George Komnenos Arianites. Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 72.

[28] Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 777, p. 251; no. 1229, p. 296. Stephen's mortal remains, venerated as the relic of a martyr, were transferred to Kupinik in 1486. Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 795, 1236, 1244, pp. 255, 297, 298.

[29] Hugues Busac, p. 71: "Stefanos epandreftin tin corin tou argvanyti, adelfyn tou segnor Costandinoi. Ecamen myan cori(n), epandreftin ton marquis de Monferat que ecamen iii pedia." Spandounes, p. 158, 37 f., gives


Stephen Branković
(Kantakouzenos)
Despot, 1458–59
(died 1476)
m.
Angelina Arianitissa
George Stefanović
Despot, 1486–97
(monk Maxim)
(died 1516)
m.
Isabella
Jovan
Despot, 1493–1502
(died 1503)
m.
Jelena
daughter of
Stefan Jakšić
Maria (Mara)
m.
Boniface V
Marquis of Montferrat
Maria
m.
Ferdinand Frankopan
Jelena
m.
Peter IV Rareš
Voivode of Moldavia,
1527–1538; 1541–1546

No. 96

LAZAR BRANKOVIĆ (KANTAKOUZENOS) (died 1458)

The third son of George Branković and presumably a child of Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*).[30] He married Helena Palaiologina, the

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the name of Stephen's wife as "Angelina figliola del signor Golemo Arianiti." Musachi, *Historia*, pp. 332–333, describes her as: "figlia del signor Arainito Comnino et nipote del signor Ginno Mosachi. . . ." Musachi claimed to be a descendant of Angelina through her mother, Maria Musachi, who, he states, was a sister of his grandfather. He also claimed a connection with the Marquis of Montferrat through the marriage of Angelina's daughter Maria; cf., *ibid.*, p. 307. *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, pp. 91–92, 98; ed. Bogdan, p. 524; Stojanović, *SSRL*, no. 777, p. 251 (giving the date of Stephen's death). Cf. Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 727, 1198, 1236, 1237, 1244, 1253, pp. 243, 295, 297, 298. Thalloczy, *Bruchstücke*, pp. 344–345, 352–354; Thalloczy, *Studien*, p. 123; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, pp. 407–408, 412–414; Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 86; *Enciklopedija Jugoslav.* II, p. 184, no. 11.

[30] In the Esphigmenou portrait of the Branković family Lazar is represented as the smallest and therefore the youngest of the children (fig. 13). It may therefore be presumed that he was the child of Eirene, despite the fact that, unlike his eldest sister Catherine, he never seems to have used the name of Kantakouzenos.

eldest daughter of Thomas Palaiologos, Despot of the Peloponnese, in December 1446, and was granted the title of Despot by the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos as a consequence.[31]

Kritoboulos gives a very sombre account of Lazar's career. He was an ungrateful son who caused his parents much grief during their lifetime; he even refused to raise a ransom for his father when he was taken prisoner, until he was bullied into doing so by his mother. When his father died in December 1456 Lazar quickly deprived his mother Eirene of all her authority as his regent and greatly abused her, demanding his patrimony over which she had control. Unable to bear it she tried to run away to the Sultan with her step-daughter, the "amerissa" (Maria-Mara), and her blind son Gregory. Lazar, however, pursued and arrested them. Gregory and Maria contrived to escape on 3 May 1457, the night that their mother died in her son's captivity. Lazar went back to Smederevo and ruled what was left of Serbia on his own, except for the company of his other brother Stephen. He was too young and headstrong to be a successful ruler, and he antagonized the Sultan by refusing to pay the tribute which he had agreed to pay by terms of the treaty he signed on 15 January 1457. But before the Sultan had time to teach him a lesson Lazar died, leaving the Despotate of Serbia to his widow and children. Spandounes goes so far as to say that Lazar murdered his mother by putting poison in her salad.[32]

He died on 20 January 1458, leaving Helena as a widow with three children, Maria, Eirene, and Milica.[33] She seems to have stayed in Smederevo until its capture by Muhammad II in 1459. The Sultan then allowed her to leave Serbia with her daughter and her belongings and allotted her two estates in Dalmatia and Bosnia, to whose crown prince Stefan Tomasević her daughter Maria had been married. In April 1462 Helena arrived in Ragusa where she stayed for over a year; and it was from there that she arranged the marriage of her second daughter Milica to Leonardo Tocco of Cephalonia and Leukas. In June 1463 she moved over to Corfu to join her mother and brothers, who had taken refuge there after the Turkish conquest of the Peloponnese. Helena died, however, on the island of Leukas on 7 November 1473, having taken the veil as the nun Hypomone.[34]

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[31] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxviii, 1: p. 70 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 344, 10 f. (Grecu); *Majus*, ii, 19: II, p. 200, 13 f. (Papadopulos); p. 202, 13 f. (*CSHB*). *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, pp. 95, 104; ed. Bogdan, p. 523; Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 679, 1168, pp. 235, 294. V. Horović, "Ženidba Despota Lazara," *Glas Srpska Kraljevska Akad.*, CLVI (1933), pp. 145–157; D. Anastasijević, "Jedina vizantiska carica srpkina," *Brastvo*, XXX (Belgrade, 1939), pp. 38–39; Laskaris, *Viz. princeze*, pp. 101, 102 and note 1; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 377; Zakythenos, *Despotat*, I, pp. 239, 275; Papadopulos, no. 99. Lazar's bride was brought from the Peloponnese to Ragusa by an escort of Ragusan ships. See documents in Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 1110–1113, 1116, 1118, 1119, of September to November 1446. Spandounes, p. 158, 19.

[32] Kritoboulos ii, 20. 1–12: pp. 205–209 (Grecu); Spandounes, p. 158, 30–37; Musachi, *Historia*, p. 303. Three weeks after his father's death, on 15 January 1457, Lazar signed a treaty with the Sultan Muhammad II agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 (or 40,000) ducats. Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 179; Inalcik, *Mehmed*, pp. 418–419.

Of the three daughters of Lazar and Helena, Hugues Busac records only two, "Melihan que Marian," the latter of whom he confuses with Eirene. Spandounes, however, names all three: "...La prima si chiamò Maria che si maritò, vivente Lazaro Despoto, nel rè Stephano di Bossina, la seconda si chiamò Miliza che fu maritata nel signor Leonardo di Tocco, la terza et ultima nominata Erina fu maritata in Ioanne Castrioto Duca di Santo Pietro; questo fu fiolo che fu del signor Scandarbeg che sopradissi."[35]

Maria (also called Helena and Jelača) was born about 1447. At the age of twelve she married Stefan Tomasević, son of Thomas, Ban of Bosnia; the wedding took place on 1 April 1459 and therefore after her father's death and not, as Spandounes says, "vivente Lazaro Despoto." Stefan, nominated as Despot of Serbia by Matthew I Corvinus Hunyadi of Hungary, entered Smederevo and dispossessed Lazar's brother Stephen who had assumed control in 1458. But the inhabitants of Smederevo, distrusting Tomasević as a Hungarian agent, opened the gates of their castle to the Turks on 20 June 1459. Stefan succeeded his father as Ban of Bosnia in 1461, but when Bosnia fell to the Turks in 1463 he was beheaded at Jajce. Maria thus became a widow at barely sixteen years of age. She was provided with a pension by the Sultan and went first to Croatia before making for Ragusa. She then lived for some time in the monastery of St. Stephen outside Split (Spalato), but eventually settled in Constantinople. She seems to have been in touch with her aunts Maria-Mara Branković and Catherine of Cilly who were living at Ježevo near Serres; and, if the Serbian Annals are to be believed, she treacherously defamed her aunt Catherine to the Sultan thus causing her arrest in 1475–1476. Maria died and was buried at Sirentzion (Σιρέντζιον), where her uncle Manuel Palaiologos, son of Thomas, had been settled by the Sultan.[36]

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[33] Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxvii, 15: p. 108 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 526, 5–6 (Grecu); p. 386, 15 (*CSHB*), dates Lazar's death in November 1457. But see *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, pp. 96, 105; ed. Bogdan, p. 523; Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 723, 1197, pp. 242, 295. Cf. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 386 and note 158; *Enciklojped. Jugoslav.*, II, p. 184, no. 9. Spandounes, p. 159, 1–4; Musachi, *Historia*, p. 303.

[34] Kritoboulos iii, 2. 1–2: p. 217 (Grecu); Sphrantzes, *Minus*, xxxvii, 15: p. 108 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 526, 5–12 (Grecu); pp. 386–387 (*CSHB*); *Minus*, xlvii, 3: p. 142 (Grecu); *Majus*, p. 588, 1f. (Grecu); p. 450, 15–21 (*CSHB*). Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, I, ii, nos. 742, 743, pp. 168–169. Musachi, *Historia*, p. 303: "Morse detto Despoto Lazaro Vulgo nell'anno 1458; la prefata Signora Helena si fece monaca in Santa Maura l'anno 1474 (*sic*) e fù nominata Pacientia." Nicolò Serra, *Storia di Zante*, ed. Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 345, 1–2. Cf. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, pp. 64–65; Papadopulos, no. 99; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 200; Miller, *Latins*, p. 454.

[35] Spandounes, p. 159, 1–5. Cf. Musachi, *Historia*, p. 303, who makes Maria the wife of Leonardo Tocco, Eirene the wife of "Signor Giovanni Castrioto Duca de Santo Pietro," and Milica the wife of the "Rè de Russia"! Hugues Busac, pp. 71, 75.

Lazar's second daughter Milica (the "Melihas" of Hugues Busac) married Leonardo III Tocco, Count of Cephalonia, Zante, and Leukas (or Santa Maura), on 1 May 1463. They had one son and three daughters before Milica died. Leonardo married again after her death; his second wife was Francesca Marzano, a niece of Ferdinand I, King of Aragon and Naples. Milica's son Carlo became Carlo III Tocco, titular Count of Zante, and died in 1518. Her daughters were Ramondina (the "condesa de la Mirandola" of Hugues Busac), who married Federigo Pico della Mirandola; Maria, wife of Pietro La Grua, lord of Carina to the southwest of Palermo in Sicily; and Leonora who became a nun.[37]

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[36] *Ecthesis Chronica*, p. 22, 15–26; p. 23, 15–17; *Hist. Polit.*, p. 33, 16–34; p. 35, 1–2. For Maria's accusations against Catherine, see *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 98; Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 774, 1226, 1238, pp. 251, 296, 297; cf. Radojičić, *Dem. Cantac.*, p. 80 and note 1. Thalloczy, *Studien*, p. 123; Miller, *Essays*, p. 457; Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 189, 199, 269, 271; *Enciklope̲d. Jugoslav.*, II, p. 183, no. 6. The evidence of the *Ecthesis Chronica* concerning Maria's fate seems to conflict with the statement of V. Laurent that she became the wife of a pasha. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 87 and note 6, 97.

[37] Spandounes, p. 159, 3; p. 166, 11–15; Musachi, *Historia*, pp. 303, 335. Hugues Busac, p. 71: "Melihan epandreftin ton afendin tou desfotin (*sic*)

Eirene, the youngest daughter of Lazar and Helena, whom Busac confuses with Maria, married John Kastriotes, son of the famous George Kastriotes Skanderbeg of Kroia in Albania. When his father died in 1468 and the Venetians took over the control and defence of Kroia, John and Eirene settled in Italy, where he was granted the duchy of San Pietro in Galatina under the protection of Ferdinand I, King of Aragon and Naples. They had three sons: Constantine who became Bishop of Isernia and died in 1500; Ferrante who inherited his father's title of Duke of San Pietro; and George who died in 1540.[38]

Lazar Branković (Kantakouzenos) Despot, 1456–58 (died 1458)
m.
Helena Palaiologina (nun Hypomone) (died 1473)

Maria (Jelača) m. Stefan Tomasević Ban of Bosnia, 1461–63

Milica m. Leonardo III Tocco

Eirene m. John Kastriotes son of George Kastriotes Skanderbeg

No. 97

N. KANTAKOUZENOS of Serbia (floruit 1440–1450)

One of the members of the Kantakouzenos family who settled in Serbia after the marriage of Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*) to George Branković in 1414. He seems to have performed the duties of a customs officer ("gabelotto") at Novo Brdo during the first period of its occupation by the Turks (1441–1444) and also after the

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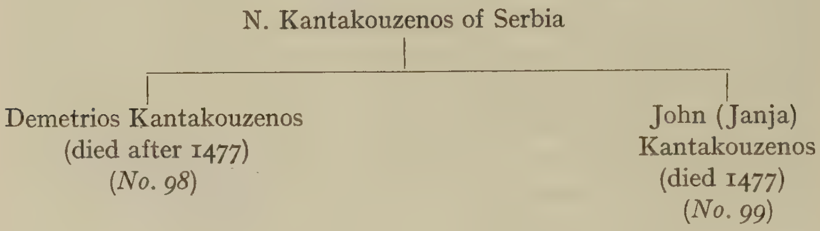
tis Artas que Santa Mavras. Ecamen iii pedia, don Carlo, tin condesa de la Mirandola, que alin mian pandremeny stin Sicilian." Nicolò Serra, *Storia di Zante*, ed. Hopf, *Chroniques*, pp. 344–345. Cf. Papadopulos, no. 99; Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 530; Miller, *Latins*, p. 485; Babinger, *Mahomet*, pp. 468–469; Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 87; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, I, p. 394.

[38] Spandounes, p. 159, 4; Musachi, *Historia*, p. 284, who calls her "Erina Paliologa." Cf. Hopf, *Chroniques*, p. 533; Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 87; Jireček-Radonić, *Ist Srba*, I, pp. 394, 461. On George Kastriotes Skanderbeg, see J. Radonić, *Djuradj Kastriot Skenderbeg i Albanija u XV v.* (*Spomenik, Srpske Akademije*, XCV [Belgrade, 1942]); G. C. Soulis, Αἱ νεώτεραι ἔρευναι περὶ Γεωργίου Καστριώτου Σκανδερμπέη, *EEBS*, XXVIII (1958), pp. 446–457.

re-establishment of the Serbian administration. His name figures in documents from the archives of Ragusa in June and July 1442, February 1444, and March 1445.[1]

He appears to have had at least two sons: Demetrios (*No. 98*) and John or Janja (*No. 99*).


N. Kantakouzenos of Serbia
Demetrios Kantakouzenos (died after 1477) (*No. 98*)
John (Janja) Kantakouzenos (died 1477) (*No. 99*)

No. 98

DEMETRIOS KANTAKOUZENOS of Serbia (died after 1477)

Demetrios was probably the eldest son of N. Kantakouzenos of Serbia (*No. 97*) and brother of John or Janja, lord of Novo Brdo (*No. 99*).

Novo Brdo was permanently occupied by the Turks in 1455. In April 1467 many of its inhabitants were deported to Constantinople; and ten years later, in 1477, there was a mass execution of members of the Kantakouzenos family in Constantinople, among the victims being the brothers of Demetrios. Demetrios himself, however, seems to have been allowed to remain in Novo Brdo after 1467; though he is said to have died in Mesembria. His wife seems to have been called Helena. His presence in Novo Brdo in 1468–1469 is attested by the dedication to him in that year, as "the most pious lord Demetrios Kantakouzenos," of the *Zbornik* of the deacon Vladislav the Grammarian, whose patron Demetrios was.[2]

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[1] Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, p. 401 (= Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 1033, p. 335, of 4 February 1444), where he is described as "Cathacussinus de Servia"; p. 410, where he is called "Cathacussini, gabelotto." Cf. Radojičić, *Dem. Cantac.*, p. 77. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, IV, p. 34. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, p. 410, and *Despre Cantacuzini*, pp. XIII–XIV, also Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 79 note 2, and 84, identify him with Thomas Kantakouzenos (*No. 70*), the brother of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*). But see Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, II, p. 372 and note 125; I. Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku* (Belgrade, 1952), pp. 95, 108.

Demetrios himself was a poet and collector of manuscripts. A manuscript of Pindar and Aeschylus dated 1475, originating from Novo Brdo and now in Leningrad, was most probably copied for him. But all his original works are written in Old Serbian and are, with one small exception, religious in character. They include seventy-seven hymns to the Virgin, a prayer in 312 lines of verse, and a Life of St. John of Rila (Jovan Rilski), whose remains Demetrios had contrived, perhaps with the assistance of the Sultana Maria-Mara Branković (*No. 92*), to have removed from Trnovo to the monastery at Rila in 1469.[3]

No. 99

JOHN (JANJA) KANTAKOUZENOS of Serbia (died 1477)

The second son of N. Kantakouzenos of Serbia (*No. 97*). His name figures in documents of Ragusa of 1461 and 1462 as "lord of Novo Brdo," "Jagno Catacusini de Novo Brdo."

He with his two younger brothers, four (or eight) sons and twelve grandsons were rounded up by the Turks at Novo Brdo and executed in Constantinople in 1477. Their corpses were taken to Galata for burial by one Palaiologos on 16 September 1477. John's wife was called Euphrosyne. There is reason for believing that one of his sons escaped the massacre of the family in 1477. His younger brothers were Alexios and George.[4]

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[2] *Bulgarski Starini*, pp. 135–136; Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, I, no. 335, pp. 103–107. V. Mošin, *Cirilski Rukopisi Jugoslavenske Akademije*, I (Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Književnosti [Zagreb, 1955]), no. 31, III *a* 47, p. 67. The monastery in which Vladislav compiled his *Zbornik* was at Mateica near Kumanovo, on the Black Mountain (Črna Gora) of Skoplje.

[3] *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 97; Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 760, 1211, pp. 248, 296. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, II, p. 373. Dj. Radojičić, *Stari Srpski Književnići XIV–XVII veka* (Belgrade, 1942), pp. 37–38; *idem*, "Drei Byzantiner, alt-serbische Schriftsteller des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Congresses, München 1958* (Munich, 1960), pp. 504–507; *idem*, *Dem. Cantac.*, pp. 77–87; *idem*, "Krajne pesimistički pesnik kod Srba u drugoj polovini XV veka," *Letopis Matice Srpske* (Novi Sad, November 1961), pp. 365–369; *idem*, *Razbojni luk stare srpske književnosti* (Matica Srpska, 1962), pp. 234–258. Gj. Trifunović, *Dimitrije Kantakuzin* (Belgrade, 1963), was not available to me; but see I. Dujcev, "Démétrius Cantacuzène, écrivain byzantino-slave du XV^{e} siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, LXI (1966), pp. 811–819. Radojičić, *op. cit.*, *Letopis*, p. 367, suggests that Demetrios was born about 1410. Dujčev, *op. cit.*, p. 812, gives the date of his birth "about 1435."

No. 100

DEMETRIOS KANTAKOUZENOS (floruit 1475)

Known only as the copyist of a Greek manuscript in London in 1475. The manuscript contains selections from Herodotus and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[5]

Filitti identifies him with the Demetrios Kantakouzenos of Serbia (*No. 98*) and makes him a son of Manuel Kantakouzenos (*No. 83*). Dj. Radojičić, however, regards it merely as "une coincidence curieuse" that another and more celebrated Demetrios Kantakouzenos should have been collecting manuscripts in Novo Brdo at the same time. It may be noted that all the writings of the Serbian Demetrios are in Old Serbian, not in Greek.[6]

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[4] *Serbian Annals*, ed. Jagić, p. 98; Stojanović, *SSRL*, nos. 778, 1227, pp. 251, 296, give the date of John's death as 1475–1476 ("I tožde leto (6984) oumori car Mehmed janju Kanthakouzonika (*sic*) c dva brata i 8 sinov v Carigrad"). But cf. Jireček-Radonić, *Ist. Srba*, II, p. 373; M. J. Dinić, "Poklad beogradskog mitropolita Grigorija iz XV veka," *Zbornik za Istoriju Južne Srbije i susednih oblasti*, I (Skoplje, 1936), p. 29; Dj. Radojičić, "Janja Kantakuzinović," *Prosvetni Glasnik*, LVIII (1942), pp. 467–477; *idem, Dem. Cantac.*, pp. 77, 81–82; Babinger, *Mahomet*, p. 537.

[5] H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II (Paris, 1888), no. 1731, p. 131: "Herodoti historiarum excerpta. Copié en 1474 par Démétrius Cantacuzène." Cf. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 102.

[6] Filitti, p. 8; Radojičić, *Dem. Cantac.*, p. 85. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 99. Yet another Demetrios Kantakouzenos of the fifteenth century is known to have presented an icon to the metropolitan church at Mesembria in 1493. K. Jireček, *Cesty po Bulharsku* (Novočeská Bibliothéka vydávaná Nákladem Musea Královtsí Českého, Číslo XXVII [Prague, 1888]), p. 583; Ἐπιστολὴ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ Σιναίου, *NH*, XV (1921), p. 135; A. Mystakides, Οἱ βυζαντινὲς ἐκκλησίες τῆς Μεσημβρίας, Κιβωτός (July, 1952), p. 295. Filitti, p. 9, who makes him the donor of a "lampadaire," essays to identify him with the Demetrios Kantakouzenos who commanded an army in the service of Florence and was buried at Pisa in 1536; and who is celebrated by DuCange. See DuCange, *Fam. Byz.*, p. 263; Iorga, *Despre Cantacuzini*, p. XIX. Cf. Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, p. 100. It may be observed that at least one member of the Kantakouzenos family (Matthissa *No. 101*), was buried at Mesembria; while the Serbian writer Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 98*) seems to have died there.

No. 101

MATTHISSA KANTAKOUZENE PALAIOLOGINA (died 1441?)

In front of the altar in the church of the Analepsis in Mesembria there is (or was) a marble funerary slab with an inscription relating to the death of one Matthaisa Kantakouzene Palaiologina, perhaps in 1441. It is said to have been removed to this church from the old metropolis of Mesembria in the nineteenth century.[7] The inscription reads:

> † Ἐκοιμήθη ἡ δούλη τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Ματθαίσα
> Κατακουζινὴ ἡ Παλαιολογίνα ἔτους ϛ̄ ϡ̄ μ̄
> μηνὶ Νοεμ(βρίῳ) Ινδ. ε. †

This Matthissa or Matthaia has been identified, for no good reason, with the daughter of John Alexander of Bulgaria called Maria or Kyratza who married the Emperor Andronikos IV Palaiologos.[8] The identification seems to rest on a letter written on 29 April 1827 by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Konstantios I of Sinai, to Kallinikos, then Metropolitan of Mesembria, in answer to certain queries about the antiquities of the district. The Patriarch, however, in fact identifies the lady "whose tomb is to be seen in the ruined metropolitan church of Mesembria" with the "Maria" daughter of the Emperor Andronikos III, who is said to have married Michael Asen, son of John Alexander of Bulgaria.[9] The confusion between this Maria (who in reality married Andronikos IV) and Eirene Palaiologina, daughter of Andronikos III (who in reality married Michael Asen, son of John Alexander), is well known and was first perpetrated by John Kantakouzenos himself.[10] There is, however, no warrant for supposing that the Matthissa Kantakouzene buried in Mesembria is to be identified with Maria-Kyratza the wife of Andronikos IV, as does Papadopulos, who adds that she died in 1370, on the testimony of the Patriarch Konstantios (who in fact gives the date as 1390).[11] It is conceivable that she might have died in 1441 at the age of ninety-eight, having been nine years old at the time of her marriage in 1355; but the fact remains that Maria-Kyratza was neither a Kantakouzene nor a Palaiologina. Some other identification must be sought for the Matthissa Kantakouzene Palaiologina buried in Mesembria.

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[7] Text and facsimile, copied by G. A. Megas, in Τὸ ὑπ' ἀριθμὸν ΠΘ' κατάλοιπον (of Sp. Lambros), *NH*, XVIII (1924), p. 213. The date is here read as *annus mundi* 6990 (= 1481), which could be acceptable only if the indiction were amended to read ιε' (= 15). K. Jireček, *Cesty po Bulharsku* (Prague, 1888), p. 589, more convincingly read the date as 1441 (A.M. 6950), which accords with the fifth indiction. Cf. Filitti, p. 9 note 50. The church of the Analepsis was restored in the time of the Metropolitan Kyprian (1609) at the expense of the family of Kappaduka. Jireček, *op. cit.*, p. 589.

[8] Cf. Papadopulos, no. 81.

[9] Ἐπιστολὴ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ Σιναίου, *NH*, XV (1921), pp. 132–136. The same information, in almost the same words, is provided by a Greek document, also of 1827, in G. S. Rakovski, *Nekolko reči o Aseniju prvomu velikomu cariju bŭlgarskomu i sinu Aseniju vtoromu* (Belgrade, 1860), pp. 100–101. Neither document provides the date supplied by K. Jireček, *loc. cit.*

No. 102

EUDOKIA KANTAKOUZENE (died after 1488)

The wife of Matthew Spandounes or Spandugnino and the mother of the historian Theodore Spandounes.

From 1475 to at least 1488 Eudokia is known to have been living in Italy together with her aunt Anna Palaiologina Notaras, a daughter of the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras, who had been sent to settle in Italy by her father before 1453. It is possible that Eudokia accompanied her aunt from Constantinople first to Rome and then to Venice, and that she there met and married Matthew Spandounes, a refugee from Constantinople. Anna Notaras and her niece Eudokia, having been established in Venice since before the Turkish conquest of Byzantium, were able to exercise great influence on the Venetian government in behalf of the Greek refugees who found their way there in increasing numbers after 1453.[12]

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[10] Kantak. ii, 14: I, p. 394, 1 f.; cf. ii, 27: I, pp. 468–470; ii, 33–34: I, pp. 504–509. Cf. Greg. xxxvii, 51: III, p. 557, who clearly distinguishes between Maria, bride of Andronikos IV, and her sister-in-law Eirene. Kyratza was Maria's Bulgarian name. See the *praxis synodike* of the Patriarch Kallistos of 1355 concerning her marriage, in *MM*, I, p. 432. Papadopulos, nos. 77 and 81, identifies the two princesses, but confuses the issue by making Eirene Palaiologina the wife of "Ivan Alexander" instead of Michael Asen. Cf. the discussion of the problem in Dölger, *Schatzk.*, no. 18, p. 62 note.

[11] Papadopulos, no. 81, p. 53; 'Επιστολή . . ., in *NH*, XV (1921), p. 134.

[12] See D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 62 and references; *idem*, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 116–117; S. Runciman, "Lucas Notaras, 'Γαμβρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως'," *Polychronion* (*Festschrift F. Dölger*) (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 448–449.

The Greek community in Venice had, since 1456, petitioned the senate for the right to build a church of their own, but with only partial success. But Anna and Eudokia were granted exceptional privileges in this matter. On 8 June 1475 the Council of Ten gave special permission to them to construct an oratory of their own, on condition that other Greeks would not celebrate the liturgy there. This decree was annulled in 1478 but the privilege was again extended by decrees of the Council on 27 September 1480 and 26 May 1487.[13]

Eudokia was still alive in 1488, for on 9 December of that year another of her illustrious aunts, Catherine Kantakouzene, Countess of Cilly (*No. 94*), made over to Matthew Spandounes the castle of Belgrado in Friuli, out of love for his wife and her niece Eudokia.[14]

The family of Spandounes into which Eudokia married probably came from the district of Naupaktos and Loidoriki on the northern side of the Gulf of Corinth. Matthew Spandounes, one of the more distinguished of the Greek *stradioti* who enlisted in the service of Venice in the fifteenth century, was honored by the Hapsburg Emperor Frederick III with the title of Count and Knight of the Holy Roman Empire. Frederick also made over to him as a fief *in partibus infidelium* the district of Loidoriki and the adjacent island of Trizonia, also known as Spandonisi and, since the exploits there of Constantine Kantakouzenos in 1446, as "Cantacuzinopolis" (see *No. 81*). Matthew died before 1511.[15]

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[13] Spandounes, ed. Sathas, Preface, pp. ix-x; documents of 1475, 1480, and 1487, *ibid.*, pp. xxxviii-xl. Lambros, Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος, p. 461.

[14] Spandounes, ed. Sathas, Preface, pp. xiii-xiv; document of 1488, *ibid.*, p. xiv note 1: *Instrumentum quo Catherina comitissa Cillii, degens nunc in partibus Turcarum, donat Mathaeo Spandonino equiti et comiti palatino*, ob amorem nepotis sue, *uxoris dicti Mathaei, castrum Bellogradi. Constantinopoli, 9 Dec. 1488.*

[15] Spandounes, ed. Sathas, Preface, pp. iv-v, xiv-xv, xxx-xxxi. Spandounes, p. 166, 7–8, calls Trizonia "la isola della Tridognia che era apresso di Lepanto." Other members of the Spandounes family mentioned by Sathas (Preface, pp. iv-v) are Andronikos Trichas Spandounes, a refugee in Italy in 1455; Loukas Spandounes, who died in Thessalonike and was buried in the church of St. Demetrios in 1481; Demetrios Spandounes (Spandolino) in Venice in 1486; and Sebastian Spandolino in Venice in 1500–1504. To these may be added: Theodore Spandounes, of Constantinople, living at Modon in 1452–1453, and Manuel Spandounes, son of Antonios Spandounes, in 1489. Iorga, *Documente*, nos. I and VI.

Eudokia and Matthew appear to have had three children: a daughter of unknown name who married the Venetian nobleman Michael Trevisan; a son called Alexander who served the interests of Venice as a merchant; and Theodore Spandounes the historian. Theodore was born before 1460 probably in Italy. Some time after 1465 his father entrusted him to the care of his great aunts Maria-Mara, the widow of the Sultan Murad II, and Catherine Kantakouzene, Countess of Cilly, who were then living at Ježevo in Macedonia. It was doubtless under the tutelage of Maria that Theodore learned Turkish and acquired his interest in the history of the Ottoman house.[16] In 1472 Catherine of Cilly sent the young Theodore on a mission to Venice in connection with the purchase of the castle of Belgrado, which she was later to make over to the Spandounes family.[17] He went back to settle in Italy before the outbreak of Bayezid II's war with Venice in 1499; though after the end of that war in 1502 he paid a visit to Constantinople to see to the affairs of his brother Alexander. Following the ruin of Alexander's business and his death, Theodore returned to Italy and addressed himself to the composition of his historical work. He died some time after 1538.[18]

The connection of Theodore Spandounes with the Kantakouzenos family was evidently through his mother Eudokia. It has been commonly assumed that Eudokia was a daughter of George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (*No. 67*) or a sister of Demetrios Kantakouzenos (*No. 85*).[19] This assumption has been fostered by the repeated statement of Spandounes himself that George Kantakouzenos was his "maternal grandfather."[20] Since, however, he describes George as a "grandson" of the Emperor John VI instead of a "great-grandson" one may question the accuracy of his other statement. Catherine of Cilly, in the document of 1488 cited above, refers to Eudokia, Theodore's mother, as her "niece" (*nepotis*). If Eudokia were the daughter of George Kantakouzenos she would have been the first cousin, not the niece, of Catherine. As V. Laurent has justly observed, Catherine was herself the niece of George, and it is hardly conceivable that she could have been mistaken as to the relationship that existed between herself and Eudokia. One must therefore conclude that Eudokia belonged to the next generation and that she was herself a grand-daughter rather than a daughter of George Kantakouzenos.[21] Her mother may thus have been the unnamed fifth daughter of George in the genealogy of Hugues Busac (see *No. 90*). Her son Theodore Spandounes perhaps intended the words "mio avo materno" used with reference to George to mean "the grandfather of my mother" and not "my grandfather on my mother's side."

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[16] Spandounes, p. 161, 26–28, recalls how in his childhood he had seen at Gallipoli some of the Greek prisoners who had been taken by the Turks after the conquest of Kalamata and the Peloponnese in 1460: "Et essendo io in età puerile a Calipoli ho veduti alcuni di quelli che sino a quel tempo non si havevano potuto riscatare."

[17] Spandounes, ed. Sathas, Preface, pp. xiii-xiv; p. xiii note 2: *Cuidam venetus a secretis nuntiat Catherinae comitissae Cillii bene a senatu exceptum Theodorum eius nuncium. 13 Junii 1472.*

[18] For his fortunes after his return to Italy, see Spandounes, ed. Sathas, Preface, pp. xxi-xxxi. The various redactions and publications of his historical work are discussed in the preface to this volume, pp. xv–xvii.

[19] Cf. Spandounes, ed. Sathas, Preface, pp. v-vi; Filitti, pp. 8–9.

[20] Spandounes, p. 156, 36–37: "...Georgio, nomato Sachatai, mio avo materno"; p. 158, 28–29: "Georgio Cantacusino, mio avo materno."

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[21] Laurent, *Vat. Lat.*, pp. 89–91.

Appendix

THE FAMILY OF PHAKRASES

1. JOHN PHAKRASES (floruit 1290–1315)

John was Logothete τῶν ἀγελῶν in the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos and a friend of Maximos Planoudes, Gregory of Cyprus, and Nikephoros Choumnos. Planoudes wrote eleven letters to him about 1299.[1] Gregory of Cyprus wrote to him some time before 1291 and Nikephoros Choumnos about 1315.[2] He is perhaps to be identified with the John Phakrases to whom the metrical work entitled Ἔκφρασις περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὀφφικίων is attributed. One of the manuscripts of that work describes him as holding the office of *parakoimomenos*.[3]

2. MANUEL PHAKRASES SIDERIOTES (floruit 1300)

Manuel Philes addressed an ode to this member of the family.[4] Philes also composed some funerary verses (ἐπιτύμβιοι) apparently for the same person under the name of Phakrases Sideriotes.[5] Three more anonymous epitaphs for a Manuel Phakrases were written by the hand of Demetrios Triklinios between the years 1316 and 1320; Krumbacher takes him to be identical with this Manuel Phakrases Sideriotes.[6]

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[1] Planoudes, *Epistulae*, nos. III, IV, VIII, XI–XVI, pp. 7–10, 14–17, 19–31, 34–36. Cf. the Commentary of M. Treu, *ibid.*, pp. 197–199.

[2] The letters from Gregory of Cyprus are edited by M. Treu, in Planoudes, *Epistulae*, pp. 197–198, and S. Eustratiades, in Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φᾶρος, III (1909), p. 34; that from Nikephoros Choumnos is in J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* (Paris, 1844), no. 9, pp. 13–14. Cf. J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'état et humaniste byzantin* (Paris, 1959), p. 67 and note 2.

[3] Sp. Lambros, Ἔκφρασις περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὀφφικίων ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Φακρασῆ, *NH*, XIII (1916), pp. 28–29. See, however, J. Verpeaux, in Ps-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, App. IV, p. 327 and note 2.

[4] Philes, ed. Miller, I, p. 291.

[5] Philes, ed. Miller, I, pp. 376–379.

[6] Krumbacher, p. 780, no. 7.

It seems likely that the *sebastos* Phakrases for whom Manuel Philes wrote an ode is also this Manuel.[7]

3. GEORGE PHAKRASES, *protostrator* (floruit 1340–1360)

George was a loyal supporter and officer in the army of John Kantakouzenos. He served as *strategos* at Didymoteichos in 1342, as *protostrator* at Selymbria in 1346, and against the Genoese at Galata in 1351.[8] He was also the author of a strictly Palamite account of the debate held in the Blachernai palace in 1355 between Gregory Palamas and Nikephoros Gregoras.[9]

4. Na PHAKRASINA (floruit 1330)

She is mentioned but once, as one of the companions and noble ladies of the court of the Empress Anne of Savoy in the year 1330.[10]

5. THEODORE PHAKRASES (floruit 1357)

Known only from a patriarchal document of 1357, in which his name appears as one of the signatories.[11]

6. MANUEL PHAKRASES KANTAKOUZENOS (= *No. 47, supra*)

This Manuel is known as the witness to and signatory of a document dated August 1370 in the monastery of Vatopedi.[12] He describes himself as an οἰκεῖος of the Emperor (John V Palaiologos).

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[7] Philes, ed. Martini, no. 46, p. 57.

[8] Greg. xii, 15: II, p. 627, 19. Kantak. iii, 32: II, p. 195, 11–12; iii, 95: II, p. 585, 3; iv, 26: III, p. 196, 3. Cf. R. Guilland, "Etudes de titulature et prosopographie byzantines. Le protostrator," *REB*, VII (1950), pp. 171–172.

[9] M. Candal, "Fuentes palamiticas: Dialogo de Jorge Facrasi sobre el contradictorio de Pálamas con Nicéforo Grégoras," *OCP*, XVI (1950), pp. 328–356. Cf. R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras, l'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1926), p. 47; Meyendorff, *Introduction*, pp. 164–165.

[10] Kantak. ii, 17: I, p. 409, 21 f.: Φακρασίνα δὲ τῶν τῇ βασιλίδι συνουσῶν μία γυναικῶν εὐγενῶν. . . .

[11] *MM*, I, p. 374.

[12] The document concerns a dedication to the monastery made by Michael Kaballarios Tzamplakon. It was published by Theocharides, *Tzamplakones*, no. 4a, pp. 141–145.

He was also among those present at the synod of August 1409 in Constantinople, in the *Tomos* of which he is described as being ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων of Manuel II Palaiologos.[13]

He is perhaps to be identified with the Manuel Phakrases Katakouzenos (*sic*) whose name was once to be seen inscribed on a tower in the walls of Constantinople.[14]

7. N. KANTAKOUZENOS (PHAKRASES), *megas primmikerios* (*=No. 48, supra*)

He was the recipient of at least two letters from Demetrios Kydones in 1371 and 1372.[15] He was appointed acting governor of Thessalonike during the absence from the city of Manuel Palaiologos in 1372.[16]

He may well be the same as the *megas primmikerios* Kantakouzenos, οἰκεῖος of Manuel II, known to have been present at the synod of August 1409 in Constantinople.[17]

8. MOSES PHAKRASES (floruit 1370)

A monk of Thessalonike. He is known only from documents of 1369 and 1371, the latter of which describes him as Exarch of the church of Thessalonike. The fact that he was a monk in 1369 seems to militate against the possibility that Moses might have been the monastic name of Manuel Phakrases (No. 6).[18]

9. MATTHEW PHAKRASES (floruit 1380)

Matthew was metropolitan of Serres, and was captured by the Turks when they occupied that city in September 1383. He was still in captivity in 1387. John Chortasmenos addressed one letter to him.[19]

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[13] Cod. Vat. gr. 1858, fol. 33^v.

[14] Van Millingen, *Byz. Constantinople*, pp. 191–192; Janin, *Constantinople byz.*, p. 272, identifying him with the *protostrator* Phakrases, whose name was George, not Manuel (see *supra*, pp. 155–156, 235).

[15] Dem. Kyd. *Corr.*, I, nos. 29 and 77, pp. 58–59, 109–110; I, no. 48, pp. 82–83, is addressed simply to "Phakrases"; cf. no. 112, p. 150; II, no. 217, p. 95, 1. See R. Guilland, "Etudes de titulature byzantine. Les titres auliques réservés aux eunuques," *REB*, XIV (1956), pp. 155–156.

[16] Cf. Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 33, 55.

[17] Cod. Vat. gr. 1858, fol. 33^v.

[18] *MM*, I, pp. 566 f., 572 f.

10. ANDRONIKOS PHAKRASES (floruit Fourteenth Century)

A note in Codex Vaticanus graecus 269 (fol. III^{r}), written in a fourteenth-century hand, gives a list of eight manuscripts acquired by one Andronikos Phakrases on 21 January, indiction 11. They included letters of the Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus.[20]

11. DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS PHAKRASES (floruit 1406)

Demetrios appears as a witness to the treaty of Manuel II Palaiologos with Venice on 22 May 1406.[21]

12. N. KANTAKOUZENOS PHAKRASES (floruit 1439) (=*No. 74, supra*)

Sent as an ambassador from Constantinople to the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos in Florence in 1439 to urge him to persuade the Pope to send immediate help for the defense of the city against the Turks.[22]

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[19] Letter of Isidore Glabas, ed. Sp. Lambros, Ἰσιδώρου ἐπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης ὀκτὼ ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι, *NH*, IX (1912), no. I, pp. 353–358; document of 1387 in *MM*, II, pp. 77–79. Cf. Dennis, *Manuel Palaeologus*, pp. 6, 75. For the unpublished letter to him of John Chortasmenos, see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen HSS. der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Supplementum graecum* (Vienna, 1957), no. 75, 8, fol. 211^{r}, p. 51.

[20] G. Mercati and P. Franchi de'Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, I (Rome, 1923), p. 355: *III^{r} manu saec. XIV indiculus codicum octo, quos accepit Andronicus Phacrasis*: + κ⟨ατὰ⟩ τὴν κα΄ τοῦ ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς τῆς ια΄ (*add. sup. lin.*) ἰνδ. ⟨ἀ⟩πῆρεν ὁ κυρ. Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Φακρασῆς· Θεολόγον βέμβρανον· κεφάλαια τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀναστασίου βέμβρανον καὶ αὐτὸ: ἐπιστολὰς Κυπρίου τοῦ πατριάρχου βαμβίκινον· . . . .

[21] *MM*, III, p. 153, 2; G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* (Venice, 1880–1899), II, p. 302, 2. Cf. *DR*, V, no. 3311; Papadopulos, no. 162.

[22] Syropoulos, *Historia Vera*, sect. VIII, cap. III, p. 219. Cf. Lambros, Ἔκφρασις, pp. 32^{a}–32^{b}.

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I

MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY OF KANTAKOUZENOS

(K. = Kantakouzenos; Ke = Kantakouzene)

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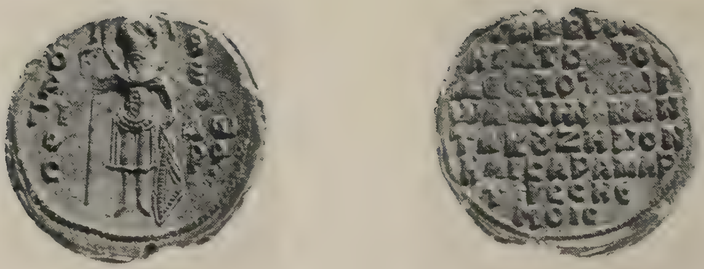
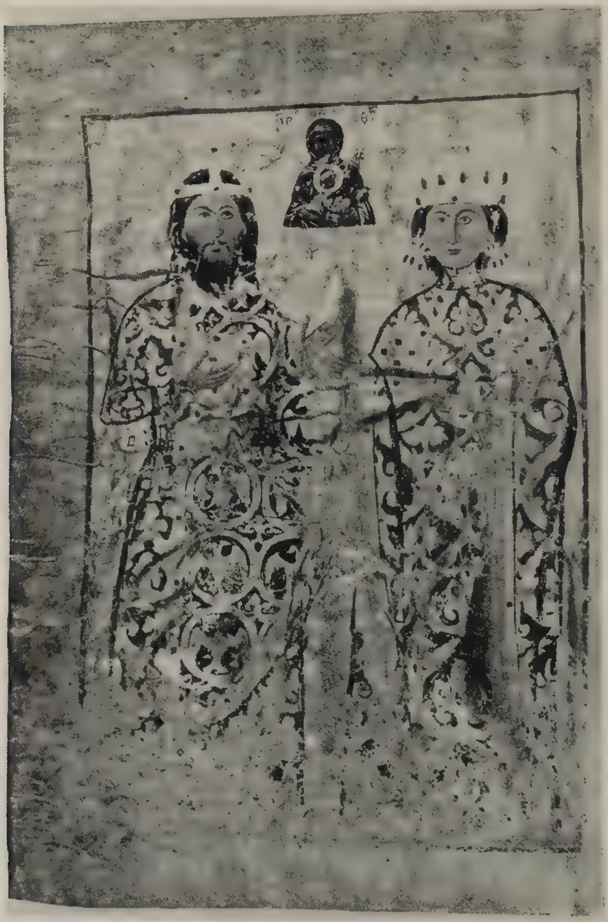
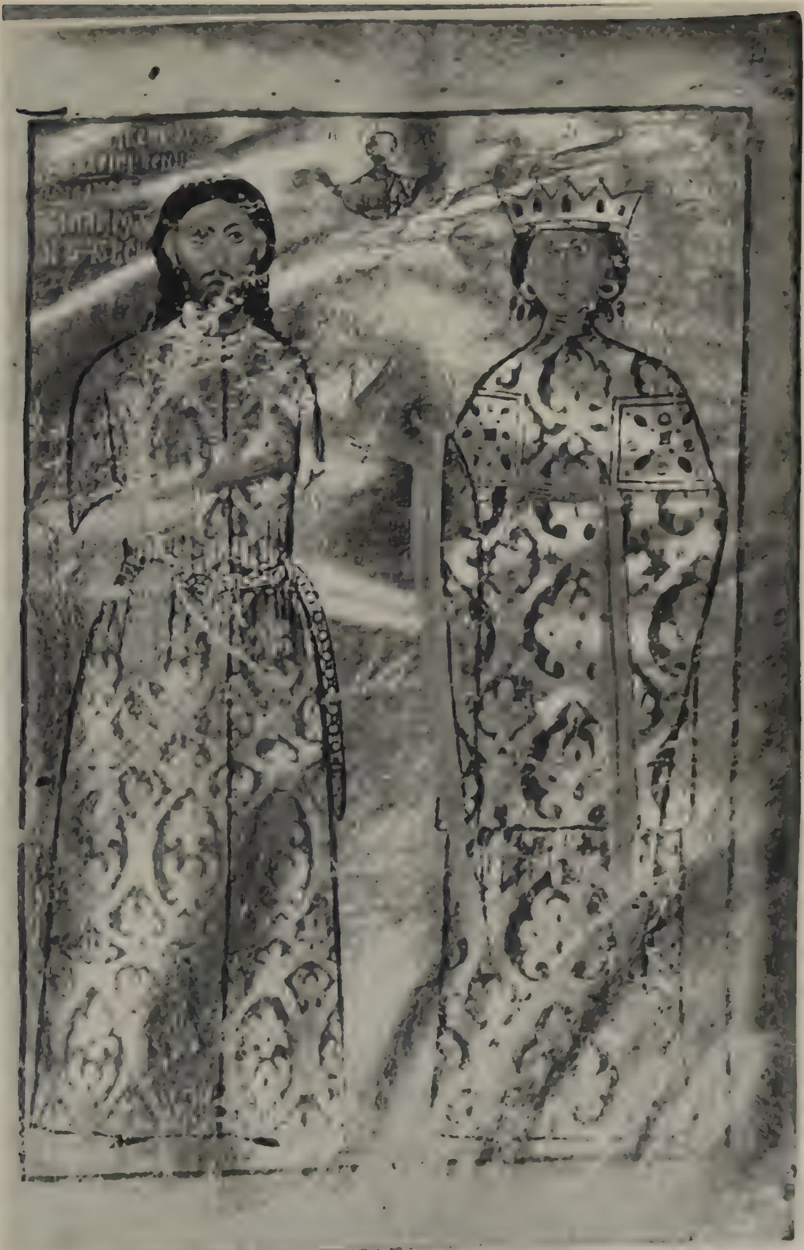


A. Obverse B. Reverse

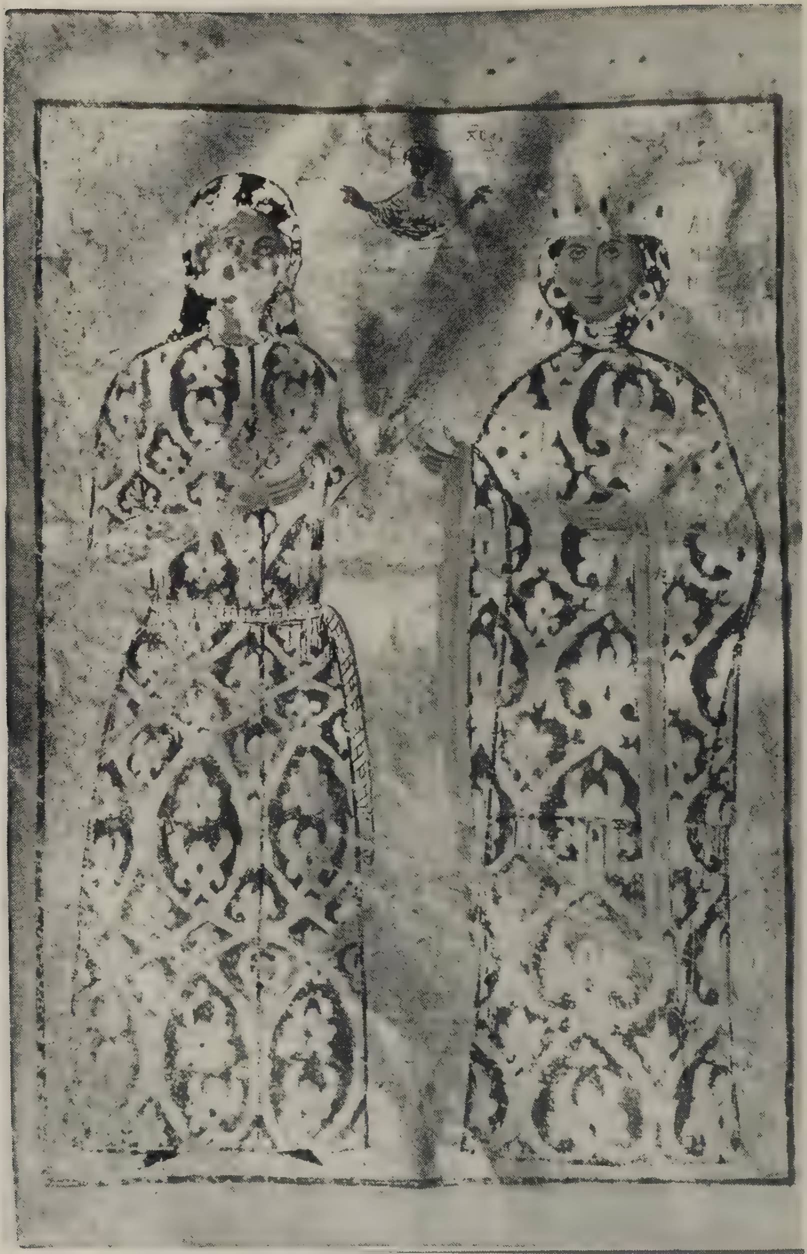
1. Seal of John Kantakouzenos, Caesar (*No. 4*).
Dumbarton Oaks Collection



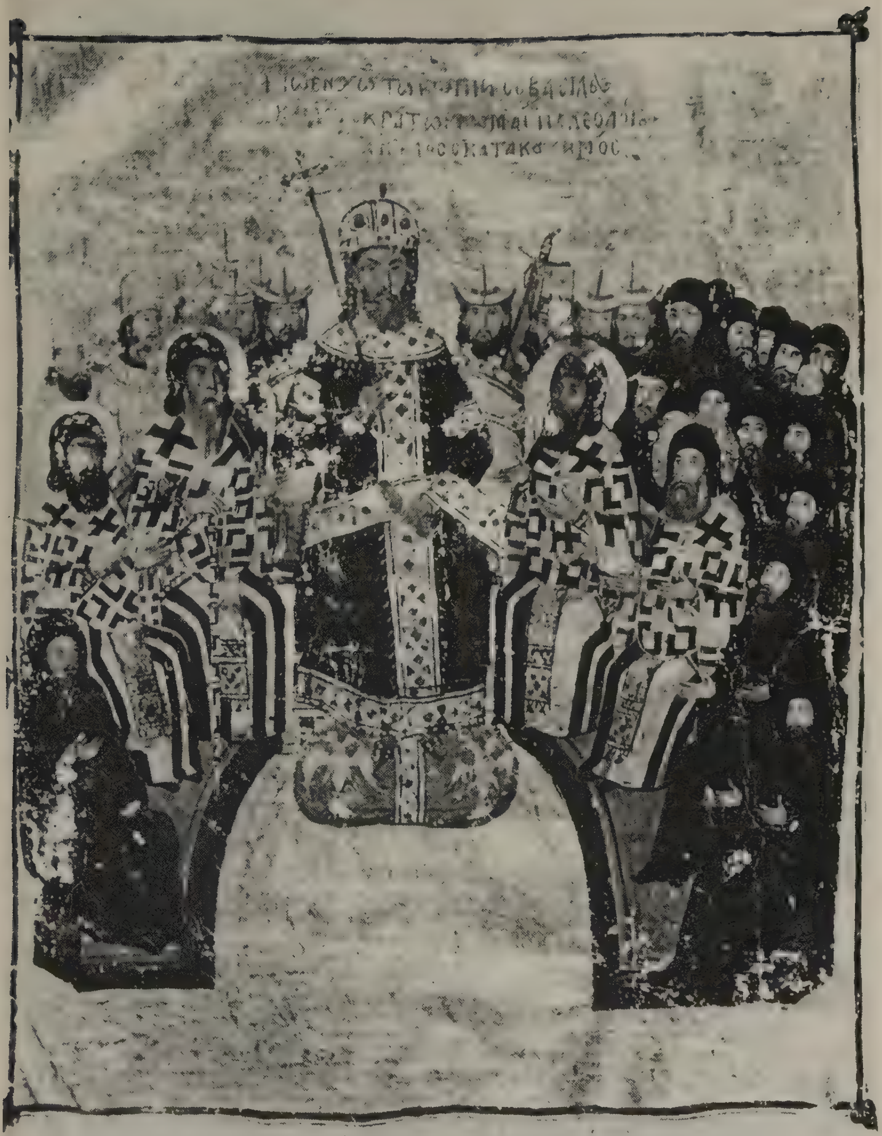
2. Portrait of Eirene Komnene Kantakouzene (*No. 11*)
with Her Husband Constantine Palaiologos.
Lincoln College Typikon, Fol. 1^{v}



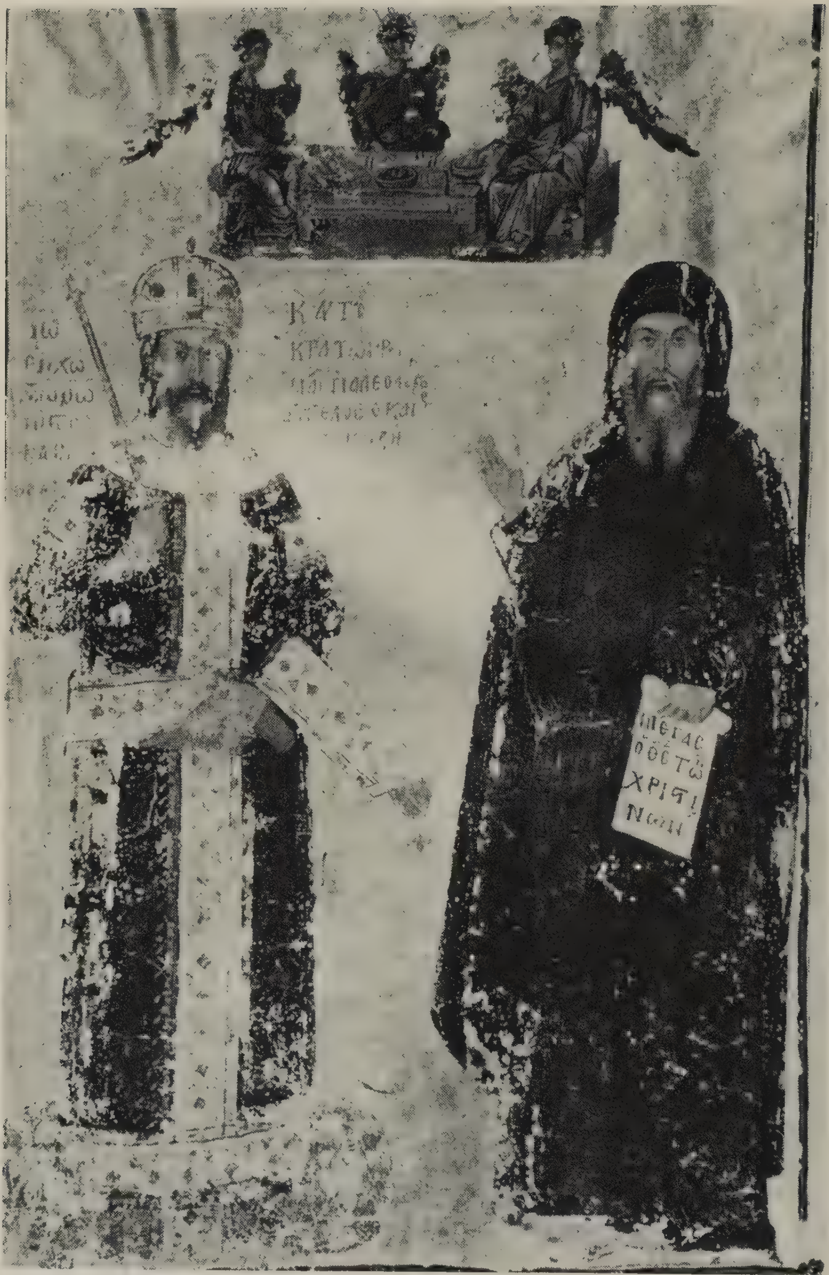
3. Portrait of Anna Kantakouzene (*No. 40*) with Her Husband Michael Laskaris Bryennios Philanthropenos. Lincoln College Typikon, Fol. 4



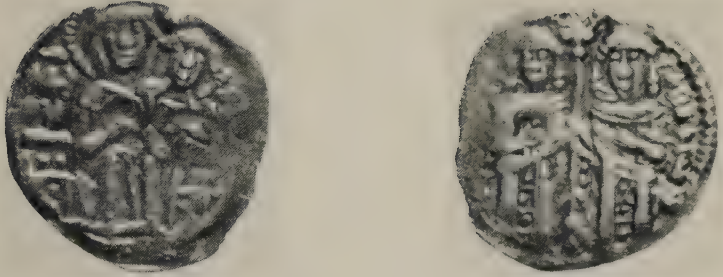
4. Portrait of Eirene Komnene Kantakouzene (*No. 41*) with Her Husband Michael Komnenos Tornikes. Lincoln College Typikon, Fol. 9^{v}



5. John VI Kantakouzenos presiding over the Council of 1351. Cod. Paris. gr. 1242, Fol. 5

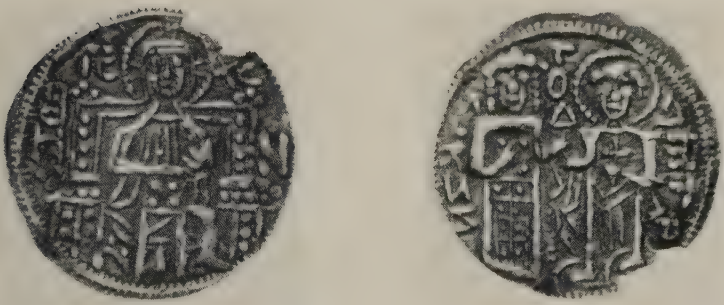


6. John VI Kantakouzenos as Emperor and Monk.
Cod. Paris. gr. 1242, Fol. 123



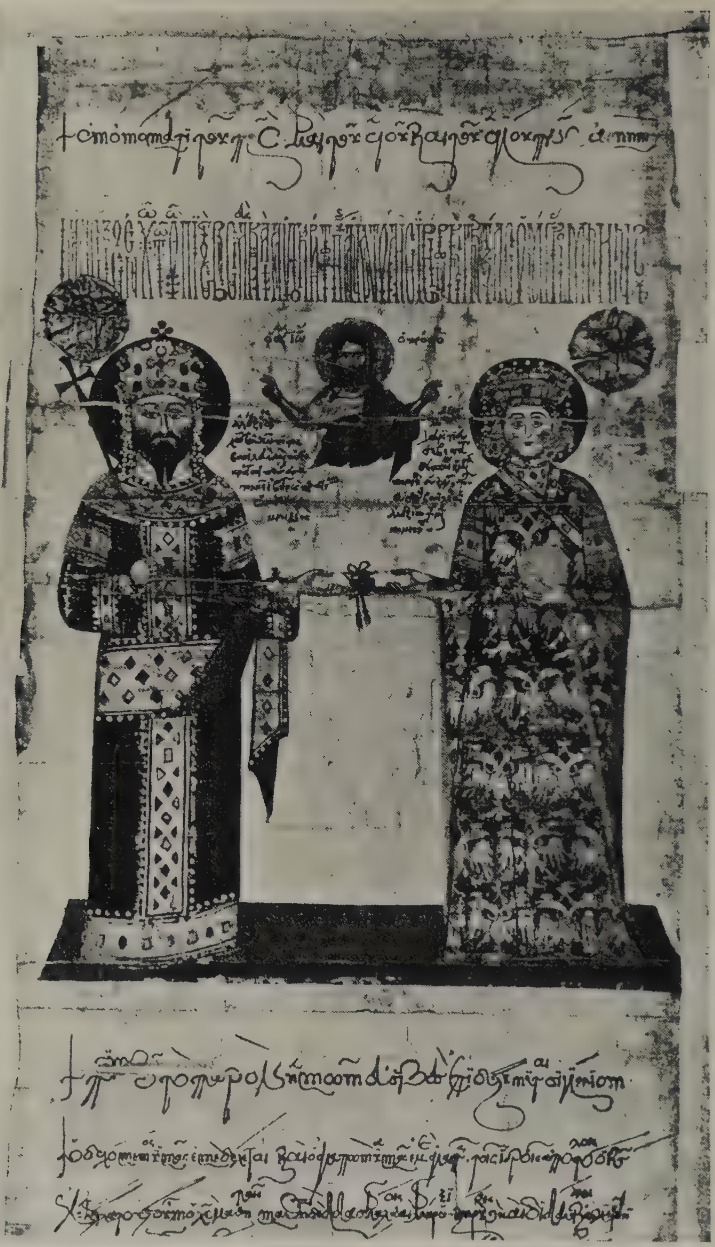
A. Obverse B. Reverse

7. Silver Coin of John VI Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos.

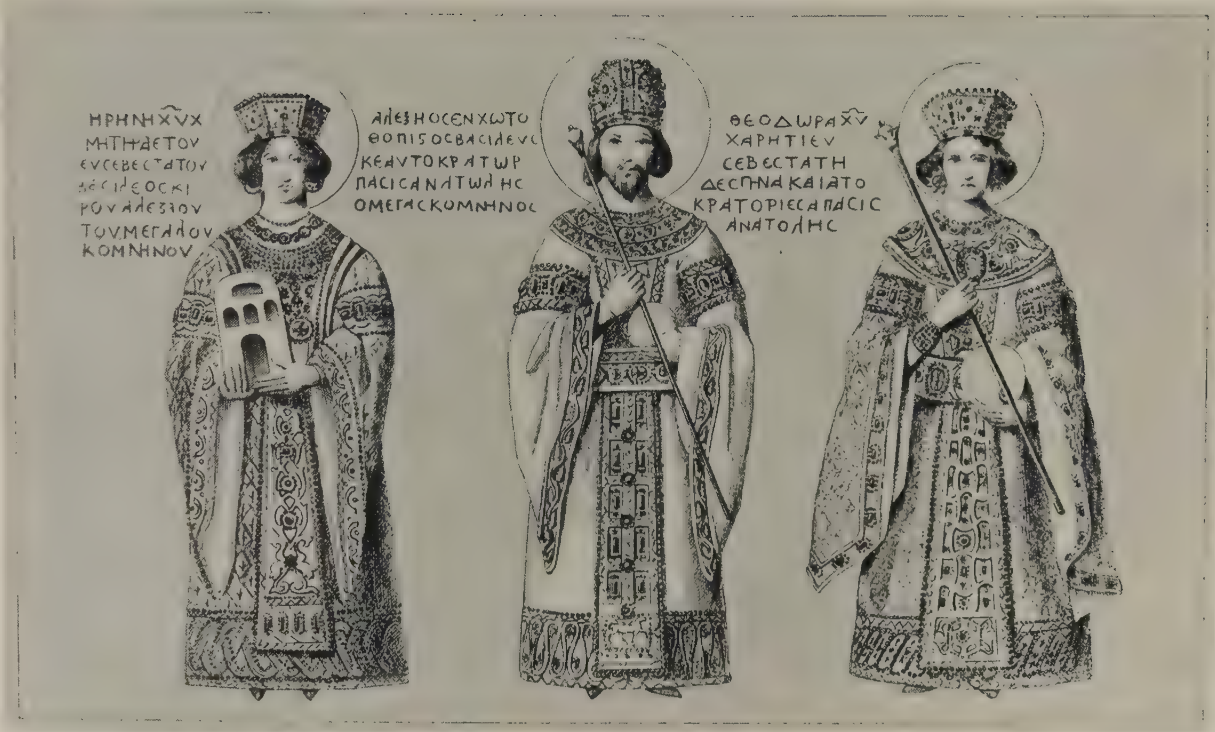


A. Obverse B. Reverse

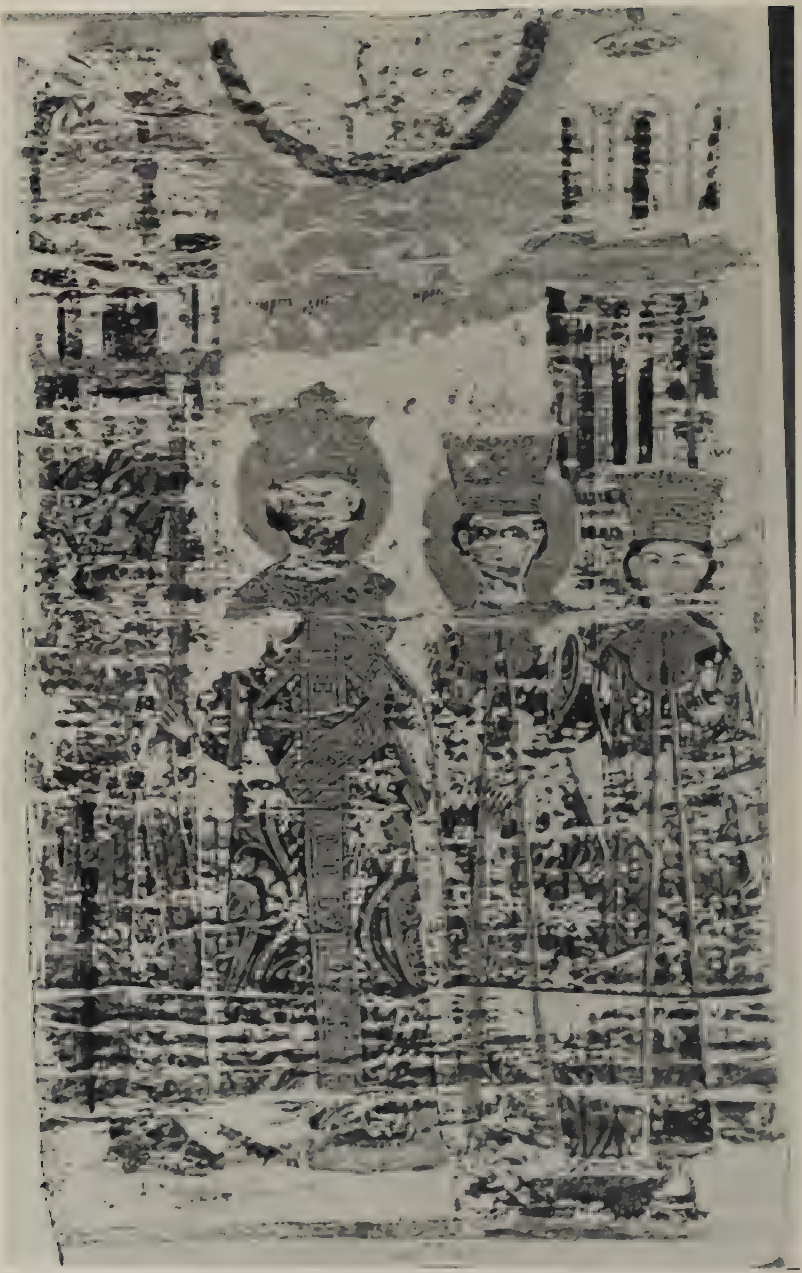
8. Silver Coin of John VI Kantakouzenos with St. Demetrios.
Dumbarton Oaks Collection



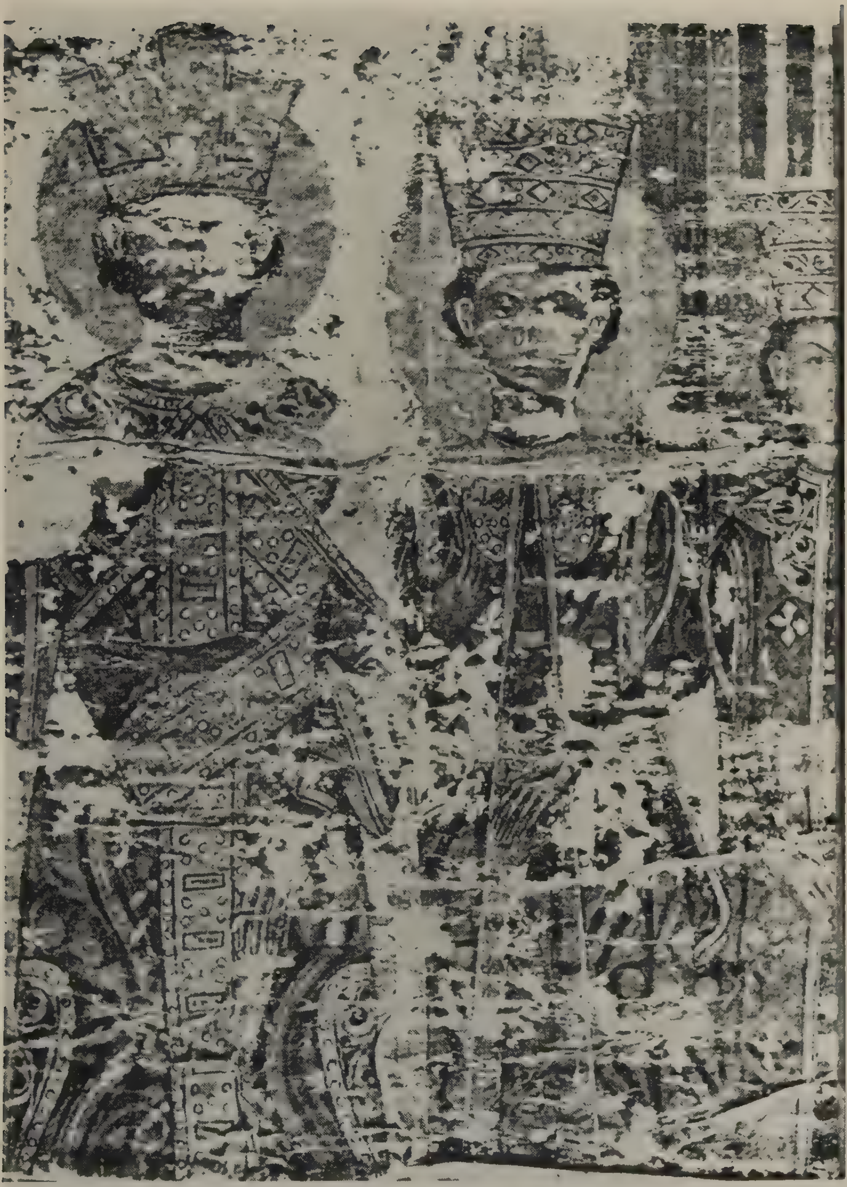
9. Portrait of Theodora Komnene Kantakouzene, Empress of Trebizond (*No. 35*) with Her Husband Alexios III. Detail from Chrysobull, dated September 1374, of Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond for the Monastery of Dionysiou


ΗΡΗΝΗ ΧΥ Χ
ΜΗΤΗΡ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ
ΕΥCΕΒΕCΤΑΤΟΥ
ΒΑCΙΛΕΟC ΚΥ
ΡΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΗΟC ΕΝ ΧΩ ΤΩ
ΘΩ ΠΙCΤΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC
ΚΕ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ
ΠΑCΙC ΑΝΑΤΩΛΗC
Ο ΜΕΓΑC ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟC
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΧΥ
ΧΑΡΗΤΙ ΕΥ
CΕΒΕCΤΑΤΗ
ΔΕCΠΗΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΟ
ΚΡΑΤΟΡΙCCΑ ΠΑCΙC
ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗC

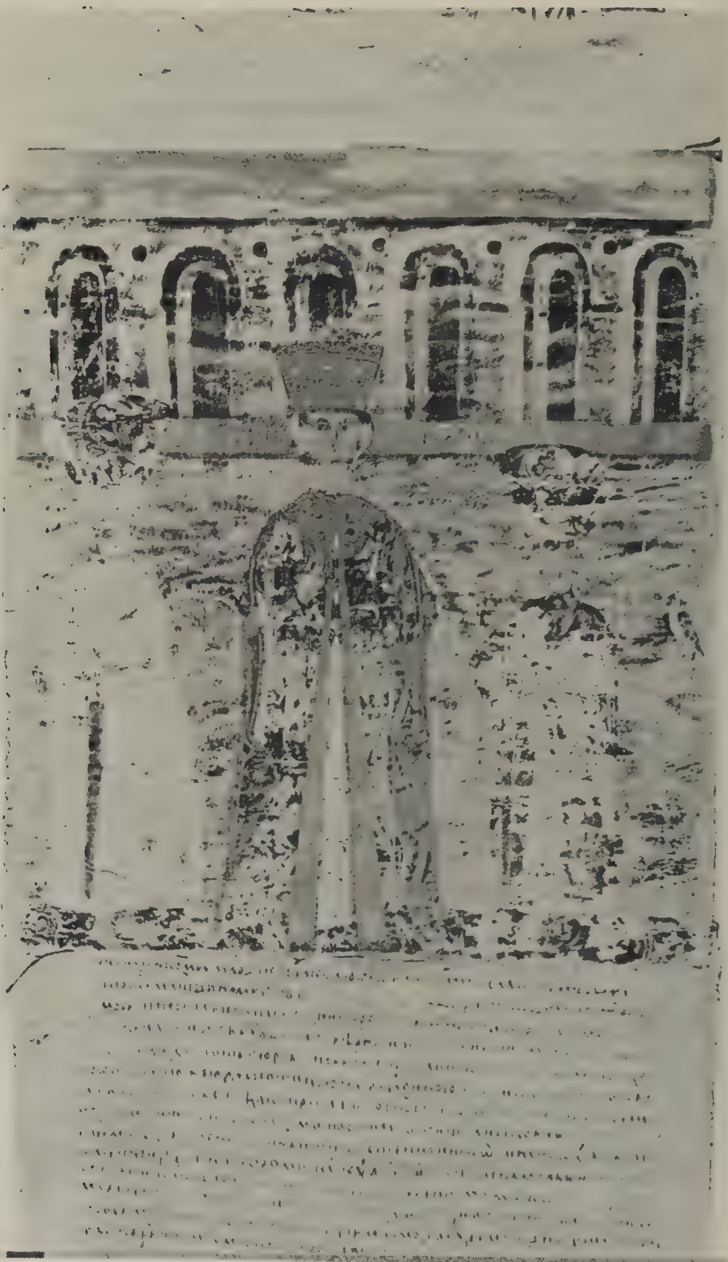
10. Portrait of Theodora Komnene Kantakouzene (*No. 35*) with Her Husband Alexios III, Emperor of Trebizond, and His Mother Eirene. Drawing by C. Texier of a Fresco in the Church of the Panagia Theoskepastos in Trebizond



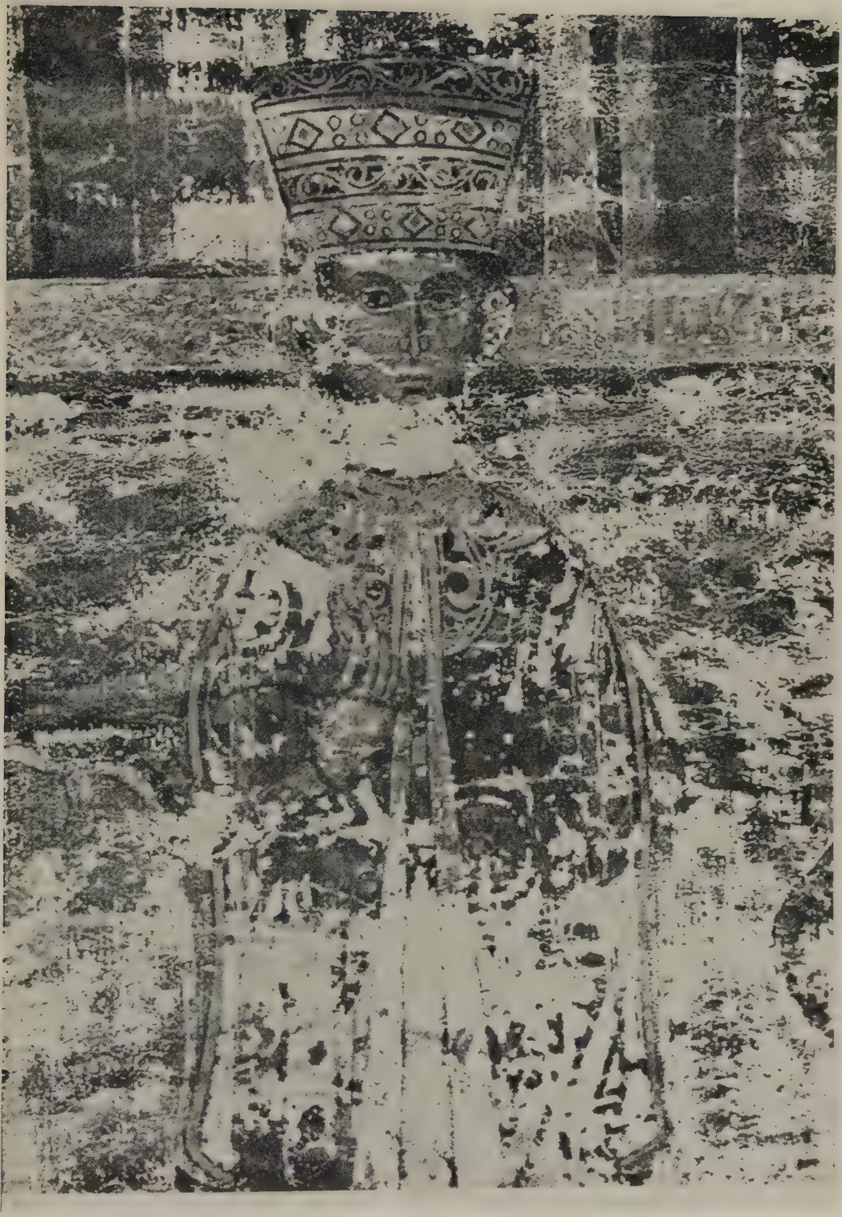
11. Portraits of George Branković, Despot of Serbia, and His Wife Eirene Kantakouzene (*No. 71*), His Elder Daughter Maria-Mara (*No. 92*), and His Eldest Son Gregory (*No. 93*). Detail from Chrysobull, dated September 1429, of George Branković for the Monastery of Esphigmenou



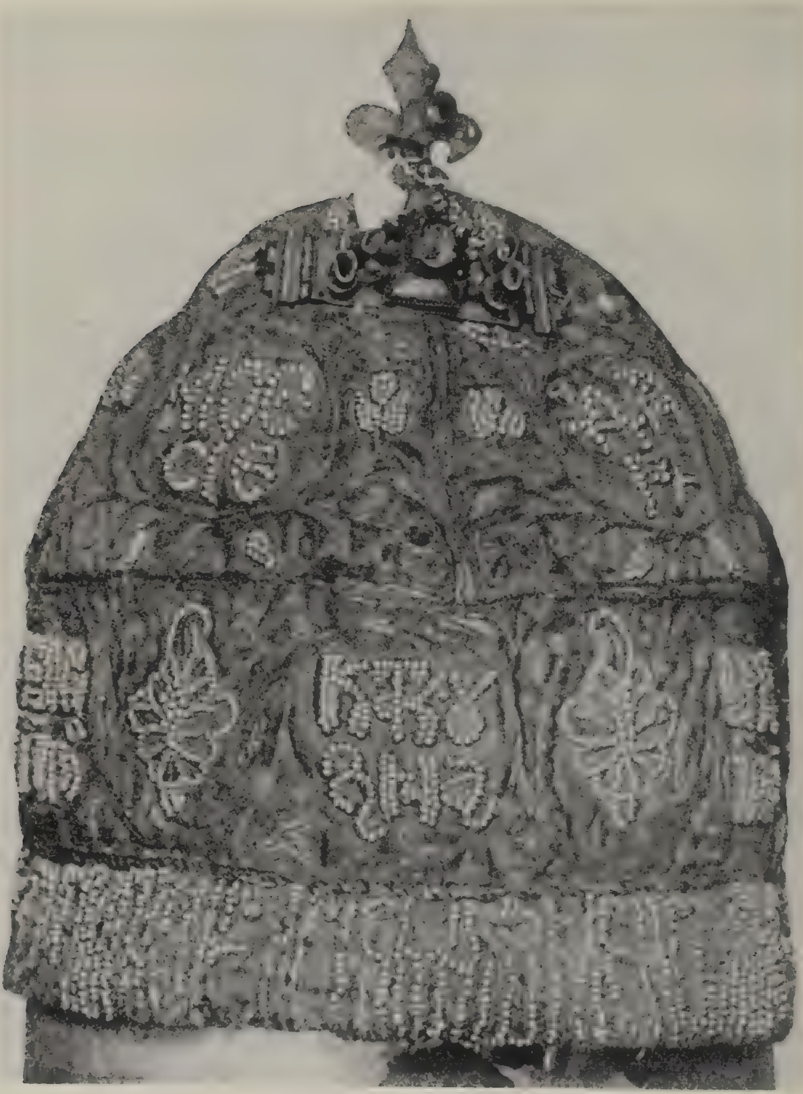
12. Portraits of George Branković and Eirene Kantakouzene
Detail of Figure 11



13. Portraits of Catherine Kantakouzene (*No. 94*) and Her Brothers Stephen (*No. 95*) and Lazar (*No. 96*). Detail from Chrysobull of George Branković for the Monastery of Esphigmenou

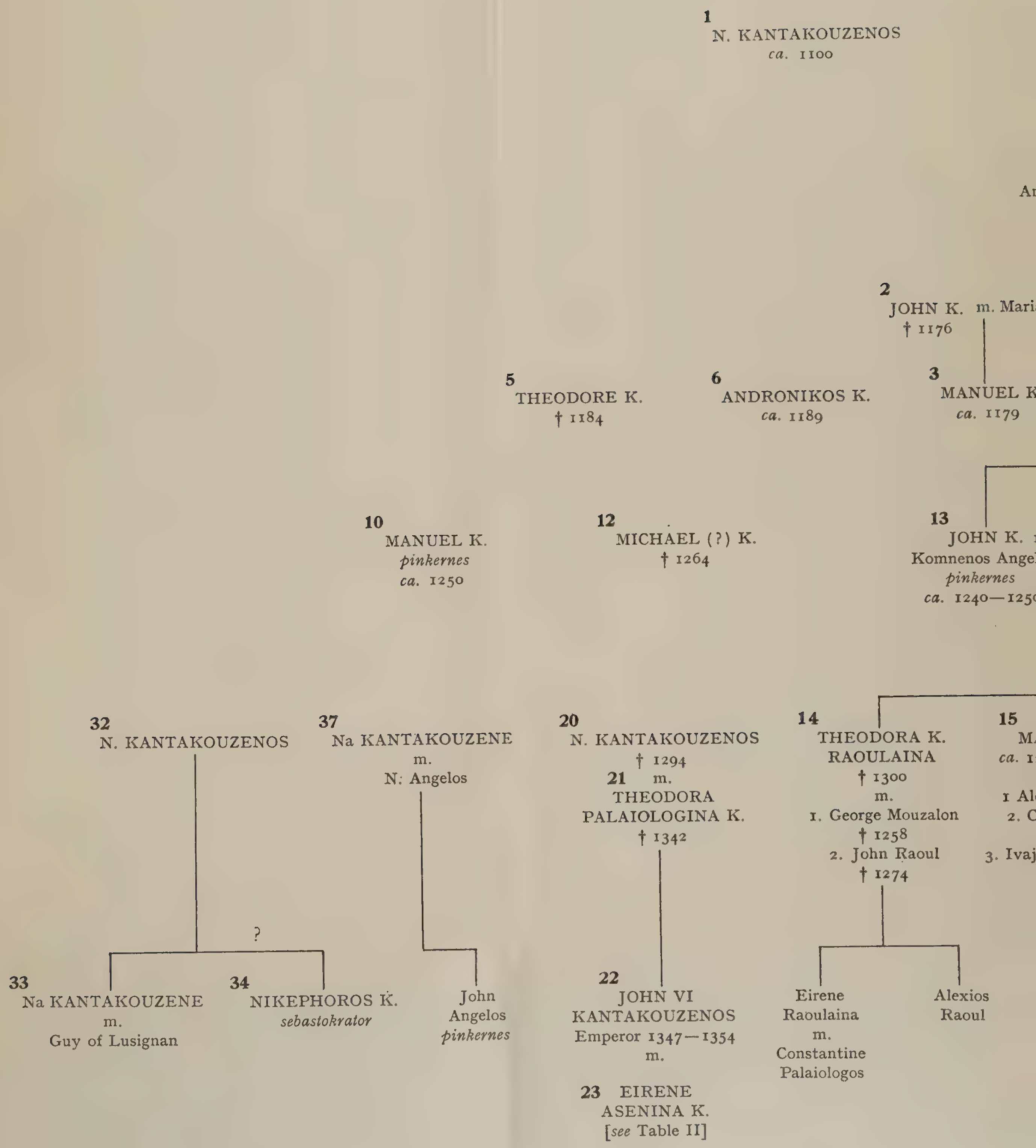


14. Portrait of Catherine Kantakouzene. Detail of Figure 13



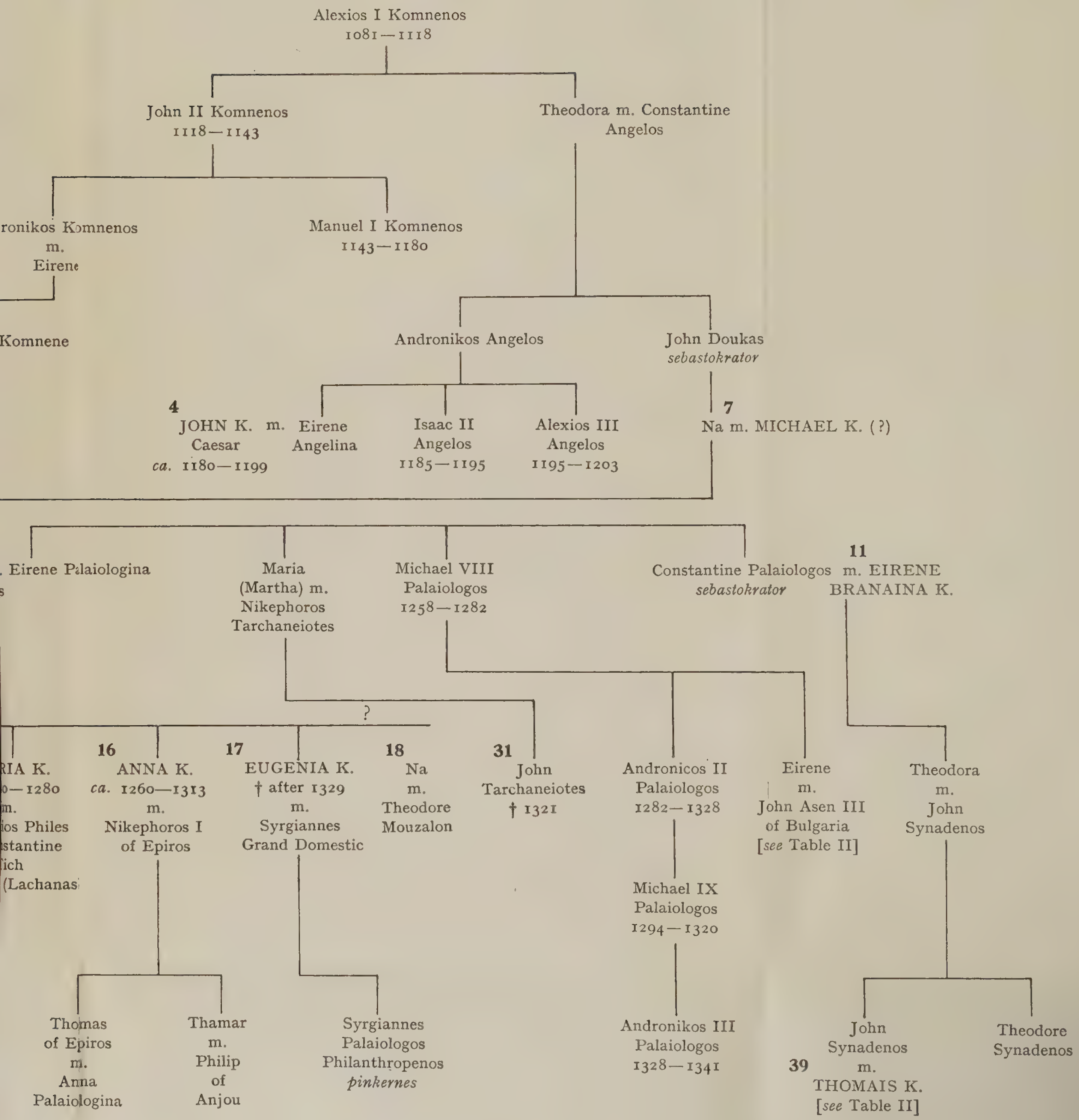
15. Bishop's Mitre embroidered by Catherine Kantakouzene
(*No. 94*)

THE FAMILY

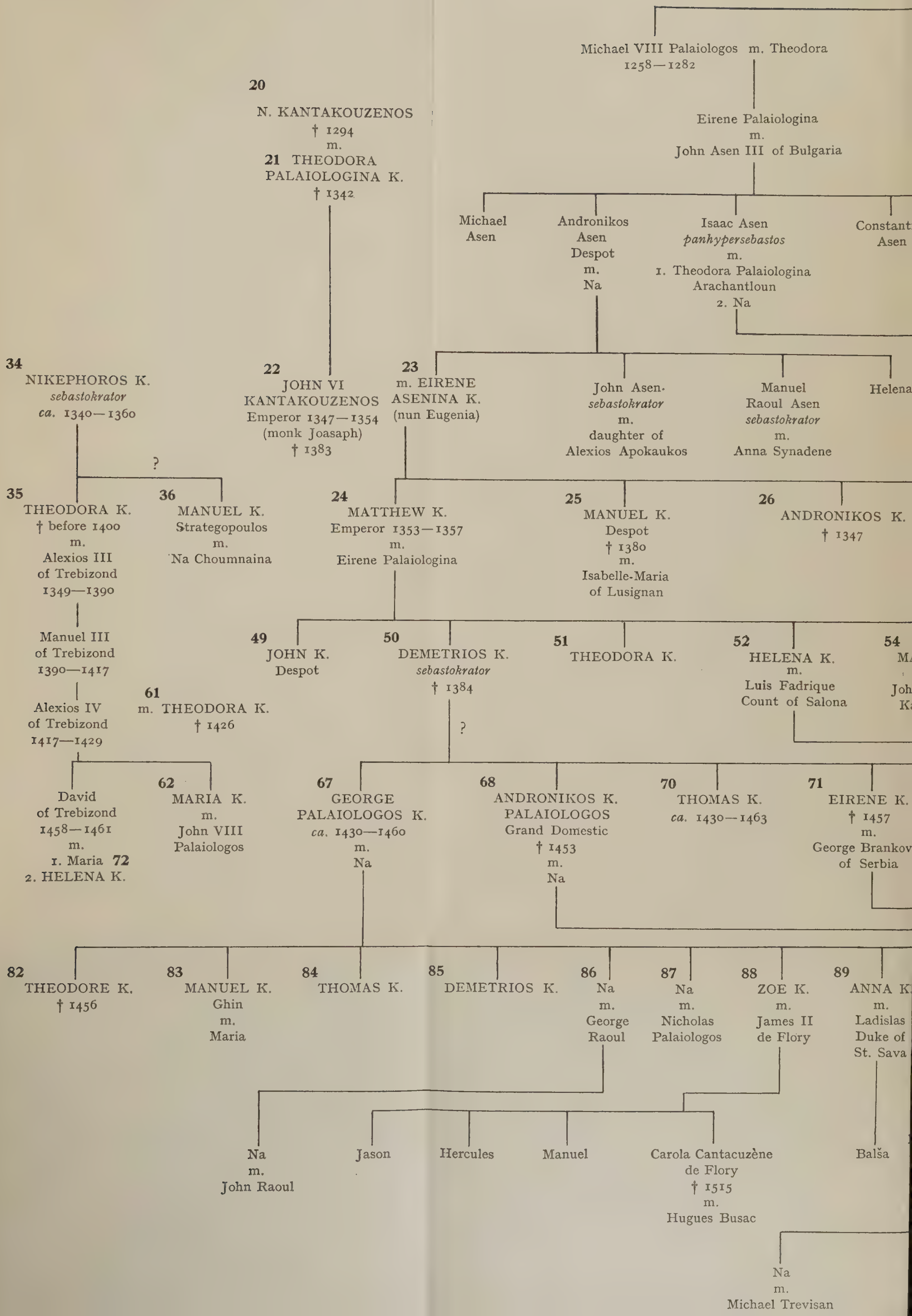

1
N. KANTAKOUZENOS
ca. 1100
An
2
JOHN K.
† 1176
m. Mari
5
THEODORE K.
† 1184
6
ANDRONIKOS K.
ca. 1189
3
MANUEL K
ca. 1179
10
MANUEL K.
pinkernes
ca. 1250
12
MICHAEL (?) K.
† 1264
13
JOHN K.
Komnenos Ange
pinkernes
ca. 1240—125
32
N. KANTAKOUZENOS
37
Na KANTAKOUZENE
m.
N. Angelos
20
N. KANTAKOUZENOS
† 1294
21
m.
THEODORA
PALAIOLOGINA K.
† 1342
14
THEODORA K.
RAOULAINA
† 1300
m.
1. George Mouzalon
† 1258
2. John Raoul
† 1274
15
M
ca. 1
1 Al
2. C
3. Ivaj
?
33
Na KANTAKOUZENE
m.
Guy of Lusignan
34
NIKEPHOROS K.
sebastokrator
John
Angelos
pinkernes
22
JOHN VI
KANTAKOUZENOS
Emperor 1347—1354
m.
23
EIRENE
ASENINA K.
[see Table II]
Eirene
Raoulaina
m.
Constantine
Palaiologos
Alexios
Raoul

F KANTAKOUZENOS: *ca.* 1100—1350

TABLE I


Alexios I Komnenos
1081—1118
John II Komnenos
1118—1143
Theodora m. Constantine
Angelos
ronikos Komnenos
m.
Eirene
Manuel I Komnenos
1143—1180
Komnene
Andronikos Angelos
John Doukas
sebastokrator
4
JOHN K. m. Eirene
Caesar
Angelina
ca. 1180—1199
Isaac II
Angelos
1185—1195
Alexios III
Angelos
1195—1203
7
Na m. MICHAEL K. (?)
. Eirene Palaiologina
s
Maria
(Martha) m.
Nikephoros
Tarchaneiotes
Michael VIII
Palaiologos
1258—1282
Constantine Palaiologos
sebastokrator
11
m. EIRENE
BRANAINA K.
?
IA K.
0—1280
m.
ios Philes
stantine
ich
(Lachanas
16
ANNA K.
ca. 1260—1313
m.
Nikephoros I
of Epiros
17
EUGENIA K.
† after 1329
m.
Syrgiannes
Grand Domestic
18
Na
m.
Theodore
Mouzalon
31
John
Tarchaneiotes
† 1321
Andronicos II
Palaiologos
1282—1328
Eirene
m.
John Asen III
of Bulgaria
[*see* Table II]
Theodora
m.
John
Synadenos
Michael IX
Palaiologos
1294—1320
Thomas
of Epiros
m.
Anna
Palaiologina
Thamar
m.
Philip
of
Anjou
Syrgiannes
Palaiologos
Philanthropenos
pinkernes
Andronikos III
Palaiologos
1328—1341
John
Synadenos
39
m.
THOMAIS K.
[*see* Table II]
Theodore
Synadenos

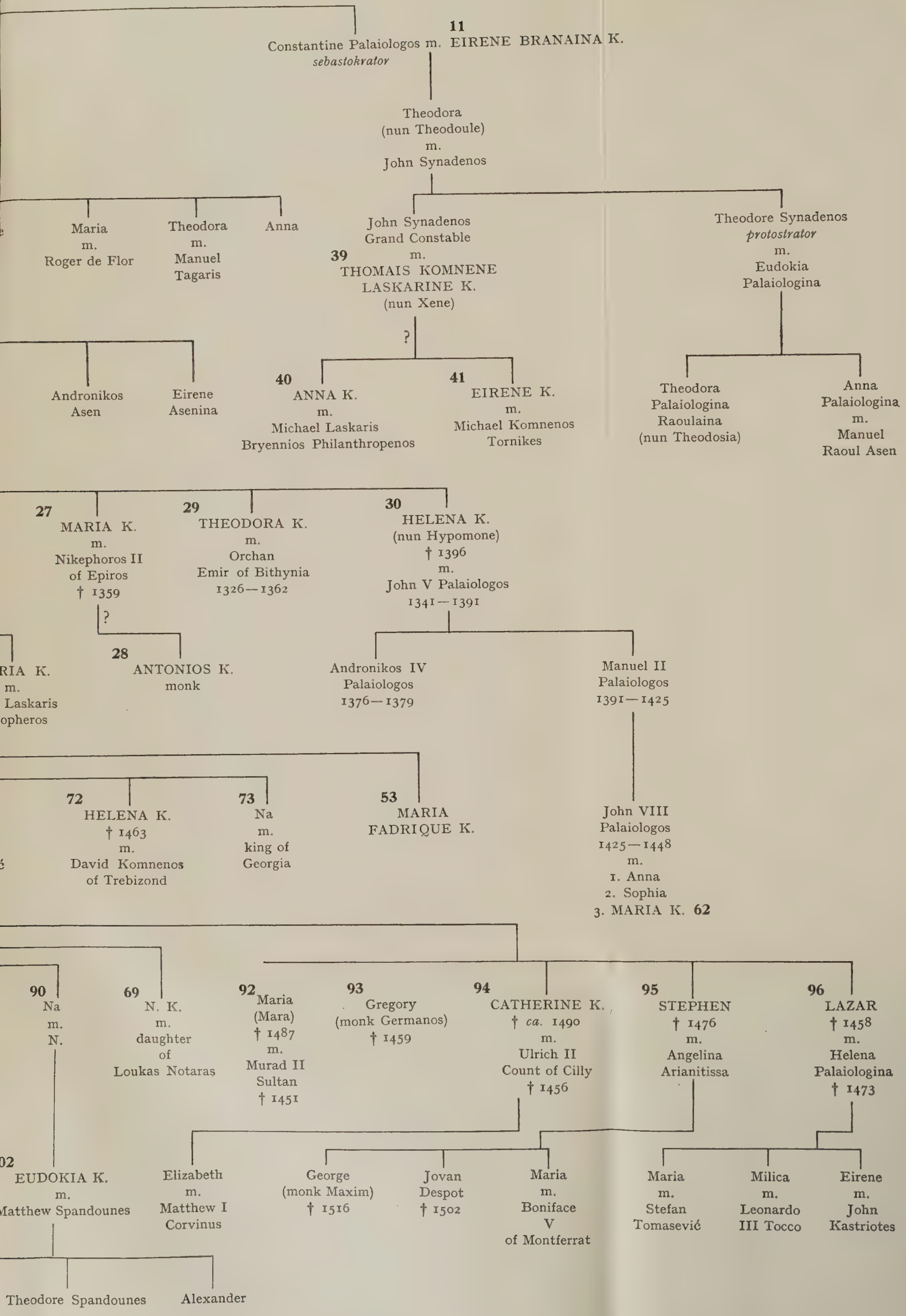
THE FAMILY



Michael VIII Palaiologos m. Theodora 1258—1282
Eirene Palaiologina m. John Asen III of Bulgaria
20 N. KANTAKOUZENOS † 1294 m.
21 THEODORA PALAIOLOGINA K. † 1342
Michael Asen
Andronikos Asen Despot m. Na
Isaac Asen panhypersebastos m. 1. Theodora Palaiologina Arachantloun 2. Na
Constant Asen
34 NIKEPHOROS K. sebastokrator ca. 1340—1360
22 JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS Emperor 1347—1354 (monk Joasaph) † 1383
23 m. EIRENE ASENINA K. (nun Eugenia)
John Asen sebastokrator m. daughter of Alexios Apokaukos
Manuel Raoul Asen sebastokrator m. Anna Synadene
Helena
?
35 THEODORA K. † before 1400 m. Alexios III of Trebizond 1349—1390
36 MANUEL K. Strategopoulos m. Na Choumnaina
24 MATTHEW K. Emperor 1353—1357 m. Eirene Palaiologina
25 MANUEL K. Despot † 1380 m. Isabelle-Maria of Lusignan
26 ANDRONIKOS K. † 1347
Manuel III of Trebizond 1390—1417
Alexios IV of Trebizond 1417—1429
61 m. THEODORA K. † 1426
49 JOHN K. Despot
50 DEMETRIOS K. sebastokrator † 1384
51 THEODORA K.
52 HELENA K. m. Luis Fadrique Count of Salona
54 M
Joh K
?
David of Trebizond 1458—1461 m. 1. Maria 72 2. HELENA K.
62 MARIA K. m. John VIII Palaiologos
67 GEORGE PALAIOLOGOS K. ca. 1430—1460 m. Na
68 ANDRONIKOS K. PALAIOLOGOS Grand Domestic † 1453 m. Na
70 THOMAS K. ca. 1430—1463
71 EIRENE K. † 1457 m. George Brankov of Serbia
82 THEODORE K. † 1456
83 MANUEL K. Ghin m. Maria
84 THOMAS K.
85 DEMETRIOS K.
86 Na m. George Raoul
87 Na m. Nicholas Palaiologos
88 ZOE K. m. James II de Flory
89 ANNA K m. Ladislas Duke of St. Sava
Na m. John Raoul
Jason
Hercules
Manuel
Carola Cantacuzène de Flory † 1515 m. Hugues Busac
Balša
Na m. Michael Trevisan

F KANTAKOUZENOS: *ca.* 1250—1460

TABLE II


11
Constantine Palaiologos m. EIRENE BRANAINA K.
sebastokrator
Theodora
(nun Theodoule)
m.
John Synadenos
e
Maria
m.
Roger de Flor
Theodora
m.
Manuel
Tagaris
Anna
John Synadenos
Grand Constable
m.
39
THOMAIS KOMNENE
LASKARINE K.
(nun Xene)
Theodore Synadenos
protostrator
m.
Eudokia
Palaiologina
?
Andronikos
Asen
Eirene
Asenina
40
ANNA K.
m.
Michael Laskaris
Bryennios Philanthropenos
41
EIRENE K.
m.
Michael Komnenos
Tornikes
Theodora
Palaiologina
Raoulaina
(nun Theodosia)
Anna
Palaiologina
m.
Manuel
Raoul Asen
27
MARIA K.
m.
Nikephoros II
of Epiros
† 1359
?
29
THEODORA K.
m.
Orchan
Emir of Bithynia
1326—1362
30
HELENA K.
(nun Hypomone)
† 1396
m.
John V Palaiologos
1341—1391
RIA K.
m.
Laskaris
opheros
28
ANTONIOS K.
monk
Andronikos IV
Palaiologos
1376—1379
Manuel II
Palaiologos
1391—1425
72
HELENA K.
† 1463
m.
David Komnenos
of Trebizond
é
73
Na
m.
king of
Georgia
53
MARIA
FADRIQUE K.
John VIII
Palaiologos
1425—1448
m.
1. Anna
2. Sophia
3. MARIA K. 62
90
Na
m.
N.
69
N. K.
m.
daughter
of
Loukas Notaras
92
Maria
(Mara)
† 1487
m.
Murad II
Sultan
† 1451
93
Gregory
(monk Germanos)
† 1459
94
CATHERINE K.
† ca. 1490
m.
Ulrich II
Count of Cilly
† 1456
95
STEPHEN
† 1476
m.
Angelina
Arianitissa
96
LAZAR
† 1458
m.
Helena
Palaiologina
† 1473
02
EUDOKIA K.
m.
Matthew Spandounes
Elizabeth
m.
Matthew I
Corvinus
George
(monk Maxim)
† 1516
Jovan
Despot
† 1502
Maria
m.
Boniface
V
of Montferrat
Maria
m.
Stefan
Tomasević
Milica
m.
Leonardo
III Tocco
Eirene
m.
John
Kastriotes
Theodore Spandounes
Alexander